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MEMORANDUM

ON

Certain Aspects of the Bolshevist Movement in Russia

PENNSYLVANIA WAR HISTORY COMMISSION
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Character of Bolshevist Rule
Economic Results of Bolshevist Control
Bolshevist Program of World Revolution

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OCTOBER 27, 1919.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,

Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate.

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith, for the information of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a memorandum on certain aspects of the Bolshevist movement in Russia.

The memorandum has been prepared from original sources by the Division of Russian Affairs of the Department of State. As you will see, the statements are based almost entirely on translations from Bolshevist newspapers. These include the official organs of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, of local Soviet committees, and of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The Bolsheviks' own statements are supplemented by the reports of American representatives.

The appendix contains the full text of representative Bolshevist documents. The text of other documents, such as the constitution of the so-called Soviet Republic, will be found in the published hearings on Bolshevist propaganda before the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, and for that reason are not reproduced here.

Since the overthrow of the autocracy in March, 1917, the Department of State has studied developments in Russia with the sympathy which America has traditionally shown toward all movements for political and social betterment. The study which has been made of the Bolshevist movement, some of the results of which are furnished herewith, show conclusively that the purpose of the Bolsheviks is to subvert the existing principles of government and society the world over, including those countries in which democratic institutions are already established. They have built up a political machine which, by the concentration of power in the hands of a few and the ruthlessness of its methods, suggests the Asiatic despotism of the early Tsars. The results of their exercise of power, as shown by the documents presented in the accompanying memorandum, have been demoralization, civil war, and economic collapse. I commend to your careful consideration the detailed information which the memorandum contains.

I am addressing a similar letter to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

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MEMORANDUM ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE BOLSHEVIST MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

INTRODUCTION.

The Russian Division of the State Department has prepared from original sources this brief summary of what appear to be some of the fundamental Bolshevist principles, methods, and aims. As will be seen, the statements are based almost entirely on translations from Bolshevist newspapers in the files of the department. These newspapers are the official organs of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, of local Soviet committees, or of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

The Bolsheviks' own statements are supplemented by the reports of American representatives in or near Russia.

The theoretical "dictatorship of the proletariat," acknowledged to be the rule of a minority, with a definite policy of preliminary destruction, is found in fact to have degenerated into a close monopoly of power by a very small group, who use the most opportunistic and tyrannical methods, including "mass terror."

While existing on the accumulated wealth of the country, the Bolshevist régime has brought about a complete economic collapse, with consequent famine and epidemic. The claim of the Bolsheviks that economic isolation is wholly responsible for the economic chaos in Soviet Russia, can not be sustained. The Bolshevist program has not worked and Bolshevism has to its credit no constructive accomplishment.

One of the main aims of the Bolshevist leaders from the very beginning has been to make their movement a world-wide social revolution. They insistently declare that success in Russia depends on the development of corresponding social revolutions in all other countries. Bolshevist policies and tactics are subordinated to the idea of the international proletarian revolution. Apparent compromises with "bourgeois" governments or countries have proved temporary and tactical.

I.—CHARACTER OF BOLSHEVIST RULE.

1. " DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT."

The theoretical purposes of the Bolsheviks are clearly set forth in the following statement of aims which was embodied in the call for the First Congress of the new Revolutionary International (later called the Third or Communist International), as having been worked out in accordance with the programs of the Spartacus Association of Germany and the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). As wirelessed by the Bolsheviks from Petrograd January 23, 1919, this statement contained the following:

> The present is the period of destruction and crushing of the capitalist system of the whole world.
>
> The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer power. To conquer power means to destroy the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie and to organize a new proletarian govermnental apparatus. This new apparatus must express the dictatorship of the proletariat.
>
> The dictatorship of the proletariat must be the occasion for the immediate expropriation of capital and the elimination of the private right of owning the means of production through making them common property.
>
> In order to protect the socialist revolution against external and internal enemies and to assist the fighting proletarians of other countries, it becomes necessary to disarm entirely the bourgeoisie and its agents and to arm the proletariat.

(See Appendix I, p. 23, for the full text of the proclamation.)

The ablest analysis of the theory of the proletarian dictatorship is given by Lenin himself, in his report to the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in March, 1919. (See Appendix II, p. 25, for the full text of this report, made in the form of a series of "theses.") Lenin's "theses" were adopted as the platform of the Third International, established in Moscow in March, 1919. From a reading of these theses it is clear that the period of construction claimed by the Bolshevist sympathizers had not arrived.

The following extract from a speech by Lenin at the session of the Petrograd Soviet of March 12, 1919 ("Severnaya Kommuna," Mar. 14, 1919), indicates the same:

> We can understand the activities of the Council of People's Commissaries for the last year only if we assess the rôle of the Soviets on the scale of the world revolution. Often the daily routine of administration and details that could not be avoided in the work of construction are pushing us to one side and forcing us to forget the great task of world revolution. But only when we assess the rôle of the Soviets on the world scale will we be able properly to handle the details of our internal life and regulate them properly. The task of construction depends entirely on how soon revolution will triumph in the more important countries of Europe. Only after such a victory shall we be able seriously to undertake the work of construction. The expert accountants from Berne speak of us as the champions of the tactics of violence, but in referring to this they do not see what the bourgeoisie is doing in their own countries, namely, that it is governing exclusively by violence.

In theory, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is the class-rule of a minority, the city workman. The "poorest peasantry," that is the proletarian element among the peasants, is accepted as collaborators; but the peasantry as a whole is to be led by the urban proletariat (Summary of article by Carl Radek in the Communist, an official organ of the Russian Communist Party, of Apr. 20, 1918.) The Soviet Government styles itself the "Workmen's and Peasants' Government," but even theoretically it has been primarily the government of the urban proletariat. To bring the peasants into line the workmen thrown out of employment who had returned to their former villages, were organized as "Committees of the Poor," to control the villages in the interests of the urban proletariat. (This maneuver is described in detail by Larin, president of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, in the Izvestia of Sept. 10, 1918.)

Only recently (since May, 1919) have the Bolsheviks taken a different attitude toward the peasantry. As the result of the increase of discontent and even uprisings in the peasant villages, the Bolsheviks have made a new "class division" of the peasantry. They have "discovered" the class of "middle peasants," as opposed to the "poorest peasants," and the "rich peasants," and at the eleventh hour are endeavoring to conciliate this largest section of the peasantry.

In an address before an extraordinary session of the Moscow Soviet on April 3, 1919, Lenin said:

> We must seek new sources of strength among the working classes; we must attract the village medium classes. These medium classes can develop their strength knowing that working with them are more experienced persons who have had a year's experience. Yes, the advance guard of the working class is worn out. It may be that the medium classes will not do so well, but we shall not lose much by this.
>
> Mensheviks and social revolutionists fall into two classes. There's a group of specialists and officials who are working for us. These are not counter revolutionists and as long as they work we do not care whether they believe in the constituent assembly or even in God if they want to. The other class which only enters our ranks in order to stir up strikes must be crushed. (Izvestia April 5, 1919).

(See also Appendix III, p. 28, Lenin's Report to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party, Mar., 1919; and Appendix IV, p. 31, speech of Kalinin, the president of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.) Then, too, they needed the peasants in the Red Army, as shown by the following announcement:

> From the central committee of the Russian Communist Party:
>
> The central committee of the Russian Communist Party announces the following:
>
> "*To all provincial committees of the Communist Party, to Provincial Military Commissaries.*
>
> "The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, at the session of April 23, unanimously adopted the decree to bring the middle and poor peasants into the struggle against the counter-revolution. According to this decree, every canton must send 10 to 20 strong, capable soldiers, who can act as nuclei for Red Army units in those places to which they will be sent." (Petrograd Pravda, May 1, 1919).

2. ELECTIONS TO SOVIETS.

How elections in Soviet Russia actually take place can not be fully established. Detailed accounts of elections, particularly the elections to the local Soviets which are supposed to be the basis of the Soviet system of representation, have not been found in the Bolshevist newspapers. Theoretically, the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic specifically provides for unequal representation of workmen and peasants, the inequality being in favor of the workmen. (Art. 53.) The committees of poor peasants mentioned above, composed mainly of workmen thrown out of employment by the collapse of industry, replaced peasant "Village Soviets" in October, 1918, when the latter were found to be acting "contrary to the constitution." (Izvestia, Oct. 10, 1918.) The accounts of the Petrograd Soviet elections of July, 1919 (Petrograd Pravda, July 5, 1919), give the returns of the election in such broad statements that no analysis of the system of elections is possible, except the generalization that the elections are by factories, regiments, Soviet institutions (employees), and trade unions. It would seem that the soldiers of the Red Army are given disproportionate representation as compared with the workmen of Petrograd.

A side light on the system of election and representation is given in the following news item from the Izvestia of the Petrograd Soviet, July 3, 1919:

> Teachers and other cultural-educational workers this year for the first time will be able, in an organized manner through their union, to take an active part in the work of the Petrograd Soviet of Deputies. This is the first and most difficult examination for the working intelligentsia of the above-named categories. Comrades and citizens, scholars, teachers, and other cultural workers, stand this test in a worthy manner! * * *

Many observers from Russia have furnished accounts of the arbitrary manner in which the Bolshevist leaders have controlled elections, of which the following is a typical example. This account, from a landlord for whose bias due allowance must be made, was secured by an American representative in June, 1919 (see Appendix XIII, p. 35):

> Considering this discontent and hatred, it would seem that elections to different councils (Soviets) would produce candidates of other parties, nevertheless all councils consist of communists. The explanation is very plain. That freedom of election of which the Bolsheviks write and talk so much consists in the free election of certain persons, a list of which had already been prepared. For instance, if in one district six delegates have to be elected, seven to eight names are mentioned, of which six can be chosen. Very characteristic in this respect were the elections February last in the district of * * * Moscow Province, where I had one of my estates. Nearly all voters, about 200, of which 12 were communists came to the district town. Seven delegates had to be elected and only seven names were on the prepared list, naturally all communists. The local Soviet invited the 12 communistic voters to a house, treated them with food, tea, and sugar, and gave each 10 rubles per day; the others received nothing, not even housing. But they, knowing what they had to expect from former experiences, had provided for such an emergency and decided to remain to the end. The day of election was fixed and put off from day to day. After four postponements the Soviet saw no way out. The result was that the seven delegates elected by all against 12 votes belonged to the Octobrists and Constitutional-Democrats. But these seven and a number of the wealthier voters were immediately arrested as agitators against the Soviet Republic. New elections were announced three days later, but this time the place was surrounded by machine guns. The next day official papers announced the unanimous election of communists in the district of Verea. After a short time peasant revolts started. To put down these, Chinese and Letts were sent and about 300 peasants were killed. Then began arrests, but it is not known how many were executed.

3. EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONS.

The "Extraordinary Commissions to Combat Counter-Revolution, Speculation, and Sabotage," were introduced in the first months of the Bolshevist régime. The local Extraordinary Commissions were organized by local committees of the Communist Party, and only later was their assumption of governmental functions sanctioned. (Weekly of All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, Oct. 27, 1918.) The Extraordinary Commissions have at moments claimed an authority superior to that of the Soviets (Weekly of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commissions, Oct. 27, 1918), and have always been the main instruments of oppression. The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission defines its position in the closing paragraph of a recent proclamation (Izvestia, Apr. 2, 1919):

> The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, established by the will of the Soviet authority to protect the revolution, warns all enemies of the workman class that in order to save hundreds of thousands of innocent victims from the

explosions and excesses, in order to save the conquests of the October revolution, it will suppress with a pitiless hand all attempts at uprising and will choke all appeals for the overthrow of the Soviet authority.

(Signed) ALL-RUSSIAN EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION.

From the many proclamations issuing from the Extraordinary Commissions the following have been selected as typical:

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS TO BE SHOT.

[From the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution.]

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution, Sabotage, and Speculation, of the Council of People's Commissaries, brings to the notice of all citizens that up to the present time it has been lenient in the struggle against the enemies of the people.

But at the present moment, when the counter-revolution is becoming more impudent every day, inspired by the treacherous attacks of German counter-revolutionists; when the bourgeoisie of the whole world is trying to suppress the advance guard of the revolutionary International, the Russian proletariat, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, acting in conformity with the ordinances of the Council of People's Commissaries, sees no other way to combat counter-revolutionists, speculators, marauders, hooligans, obstructionists, and other parasites, except by pitiless destruction at the place of the crime.

Therefore the commission announces that all enemy agents, and counter-revolutionary agitators, speculators, organizers of uprisings or participants in preparations for uprising to overthrow the Soviet authority, all fugitives to the Don to join the counter-revolutionary armies of Kaledin and Kornilov and the Polish counter-revolutionary legions, sellers and purchasers of arms to be sent to the Finnish White Guard, the troops of Kaledin, Kornilov and Dovbor-Musnitsky, or to arm the counter-revolutionarybourgeoisie of Petrograd, will be mercilessly shot by detachments of the commission at the place of the crime.

ALL-RUSSIAN EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION.

PETROGRAD, *February 22, 1918.*

(Krasnaya Gazeta, publication of Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, Feb. 23, 1918.)

[From the President of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.]

In view of the discovery of a conspiracy which aimed to organize an armed demonstration against the Soviet authority by means of explosions, destruction of railways and fires, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission warns that demonstrations and appeals of any kind will be suppressed without pity. In order to save Petrograd and Moscow from famine, in order to save hundreds and thousands of innocent victims, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission will be obliged to take the most severe measures of punishment against all who will appeal for White Guard demonstrations or for attempts at armed uprising.

(Signed) F. DZERZHINSKY,
President of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

(Izvestia, *April 2, 1919.*)

Wide discretionary powers are given to these Extraordinary Commissions. In April, 1919, Lenin, as president of the Soviet of Defense, sends a telephonogram to the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission in which he says:

In view of the information received, the Soviet of Defense orders that the most urgent measures be taken to suppress all attempts to cause explosions, to destroy railways, and all appeals for strikes.

The Soviet of Defense calls on all workers in the Extraordinary Commission to be specially watchful, and to report to the Soviet of Defense all measures adopted.

(For full text of order see Appendix V, p. 32.)

The Bolshevist newspapers, especially the official Izvestia, have special columns devoted to reports on the activities of the Extraordinary Commissions, which show the range of cases that come under their jurisdiction: Acts of terror, anti-Soviet sermons or agitation, disobedience of orders respecting dwellings and speculation. (See Appendixes VI and VII, p. 32.)

The character and methods of the Extraordinary Commissions are well illustrated by such items as the following, from the Severnaya Kommuna of October 17, 1918:

The Extraordinary Commission has organized the placing of police agents in every part of Petrograd. The commission has issued a proclamation to the workmen exhorting them to inform the police of all they know. The bandits, both in word and action, must be forced to recognize that the revolutionary proletariat is watching them strictly.

The following is a communication from the President of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, reprinted from the Izvestia, in the Russkaya Zhizn of May 10, 1919:

A whole series of disorders that have taken place recently show that even the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks wish to win the laurels of Krasnov (anti-Bolshevist general).

Their work is devoted entirely to the disorganization of our army (in Briansk, Samara, and Smolensk) and to disruptions of our industries (in Petrograd and Tula), of our transport and food supply services (railway strikes).

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission herewith declares that it will make no distinction between White Guardists of the Krasnov type and White Guardists of the parties of Mensheviks and Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The punishing arm of the Extraordinary Commission will fall with equal severity on the heads of both groups.

The Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks that have been arrested by us will be considered hostages and their fate will depend on the conduct of these two parties.

F. Dzerzhinsky,
President of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

Newspaper reports that the powers of these Extraordinary Commissions had been recently curtailed were not supported by a report from an American representative of July 2, 1919:

The Extraordinary Commission obtained the right to execute without judgment only in places where martial law was declared. But as the cities are long ago under martial law and in other parts of Soviet Russia martial law can be be declared any time, nothing has changed. In fact, prisoners it is desired to shoot without judgment are simply brought to Moscow, as it was done February last with those officers of the organization in Vladimir.

(For full report of this date, see Appendix XIII, p. 35.)

Any changes in the personnel of the ruling group in Soviet Russia have to date meant always a more tyrannical régime, as shown by a report from an American representative of September 15, 1919:

Peters has been obliged to resign as commandant of Petrograd and has been replaced by the ex-lawyer Koslovsky who was known for his relations with German agents during Kerensky's régime. Koslovsky has issued a proclamation saying that all crimes by White Guardists must be considered as committed by the entire bourgeoisie, and therefore all hostages must be killed at the least attempt on the safety of the government, and those guilty must be executed on the spot without trial or judgment.

4. TERROR.

The Extraordinary Commissions represent legalized terror, an instrument in the class war which is a fundamental principle of the Bolshevist doctrine. Terror was carried to one of its highest points of development in the fall of 1918. The American Consul General at Moscow reported as follows on September 3:

The situation of allied citizens here is dangerous but that of the Russians has already become tragic in the extreme. Complete suppression of all but Bolshevist papers since July 1 and imperfect communication abroad have no doubt left the outside world with hardly more than a suggestion of the true situation in Central Russia.

Since May the so-called extraordinary commission to combat counter-revolution has conducted an openly avowed campaign of terror. Thousands of persons have been summarily shot without even the form of trial. Many of them have no doubt been innocent of even the political views which were supposed to supply the motive of their execution. The assassination of Uritsky and the attempt on Lenin are the results of this high tyranny. Socialists once coworkers with the Bolsheviks have turned against them the methods by which they formerly attacked the tyranny of the tsars.

"Mass terror" is the Bolsheviks' reply. The official press publishes to-day the following from Petrograd: "In connection with the murder of Uritsky five hundred persons have been shot by order of the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution. The names of the persons shot and those of candidates for future shooting, in case of a new attempt on the lives of the Soviet leaders, will be published later." In Moscow "general searches" are being made under general orders to arrest "the better-to-do and all former officers." The ill-administered prisons are filled beyond capacity and every night scores are irresponsibly shot. Sentence is passed on the slightest grounds or the general charge "might be dangerous to the Bolshevist power." The situation cries aloud to all who will act for the sake of humanity.

A copy of this telegram was furnished at the time by the Consul General to Chicherin, the Bolshevist Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and to Bonch-Bruevich, the Executive Secretary of the Council of People's Commissaries, in the hope that they might be influenced, by consideration of the effect of news of the terror upon public opinion abroad, to endeavor to terminate it. They gave no heed to the protest.

Recourse is also had to mass terror, which is carried on through all agencies of the Government. The following general incitement to terror was telegraphed broadcast in Soviet Russia on September 2, 1918:

Murder of Volodarsky and Uritsky, attempt on Lenin and shooting of masses of our comrades in Finland, Ukrania, the Don and Czecho-Slovakia, continual discovery of conspiracies in our rear, open acknowledgment of Right

Social Revolutionary party and other counter-revolutionary rascals of their part in these conspiracies, together with tho insignificant extent of serious repressions and mass shooting of White Guards and bourgeoisie on the part of the Soviets, all these things show that notwithstanding frequent pronouncements urging mass terror against the Socialists-Revolutionaries, White Guards and bourgeoisie no real terror exists.

Such a situation should decidedly be stopped. End should be put to weakness and softness. All Right Socialist-Revolutionaries known to local Soviets should be arrested immediately. Numerous hostages should be taken from tho bourgeois and officer classes. At the slightest attempt to resist or the slightest movement among the White Guards, mass shooting should be applied at once. Initiative in this matter rests especially with the local executive committees.

Through the militia and extraordinary commissions, all branches of government must take measures to seek out and arrest persons hiding under false names and shoot without fail anybody connected with the work of the White Guards.

All above measures should be put immediately into execution.

Indecisive action on the part of local Soviets must be immediately reported to People's Commissary for Home Affairs.

The rear of our armies must be finally guaranteed and completely cleared of all kinds of White Guardists, and all despicable conspirators against the authority of the working class and of the poorest peasantry. Not the slightest hesitation or the slightest indecisiveness in applying mass terror.

Acknowledge the receipt of this telegram.

Transmit to district Soviets.

(Signed) PETROVSKY.

(Weekly of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, No. 1, Moscow, September, 21, 1918.)

Mass terror was again officially instituted in Petrograd in July, 1919; it continues to date according to the latest reports. The following sentences from the proclamation issued by Peters, "To the citizens of Petrograd and environs," are taken from the Izvestia of the Petrograd Soviet for July 4, 1919:

Mass searches recently conducted with the direct participation of the Petrograd Proletariat and also the voluntary giving up of arms. * * * However, the result of the mass and individual searches that still continue, and the turning in of arms, show that not all of the arms have been given up. * * * Workmen and workwomen of Petrograd: * * * Search the cellars, the attics, sheds, living quarters, and all places. * * * At the same time, in order to meet the weak-spirited and those who do not read orders carefully, I now for the last time fix the time limit for the voluntary giving up of arms. * * * There will be no quarter for those who do not take advantage of this last postponement. Failure to carry out this order will this time be regarded by me as a deliberate, counter-revolutionary ignoring of the ordinances of the Soviet authority, and will call forth a corresponding attitude on my part. (For full text see Appendix VIII, p. 33.)

Trotsky has tried to justify mass terror (extract from signed article in Izvestia of Jan. 10, 1919, under title "Military specialists and the Red Army"):

By its terror against saboteurs the proletariat does not at all say: "I shall wipe out all of you and get along without specialists." Such a program would be a program of hopelessness and ruin. While dispersing, arresting and shooting saboteurs and conspirators, the proletariat says: "I shall break your will, because my will is stronger than yours, and I shall force you to serve me." * * * Terror as the demonstration of the will and strength of the working class, is historically justified, precisely because the proletariat was able thereby to break the political will of the Intelligentsia, pacify the professional men of various categories and work, and gradually subordinate them to its own aims within the fields of their specialties.

5. CLASS DISCRIMINATION IN FOOD RATIONS.

In the fall of 1918, the Bolsheviks began a discrimination in the distribution of food, which operates, on the one hand, to lessen opposition through starvation, and on the other, to bring into the ranks of their active supporters many unconvinced but despairing recruits. By this system, which still subsists (see Appendixes IX, X and XI, p. 34), the population is divided into categories along occupational and class lines, and receives food, so far as food may be available, in accordance with a scale which is adjusted with a view to the maintenance of the Bolsheviks in power and the fulfillment of their program for the extinction of the middle classes. The ration given to members of the Red Army is estimated by the Izvestia of February 6, 1919, to be three times the average for the several categories of the civil population. The following is taken from an article by a Bolshevist official, in an Izvestia of May 1–14, 1919, describing what happened in the Volga district as the Bolsheviks advanced:

Instructions were received from Moscow to forbid free trade, and to introduce the class system of feeding. After much confusion, this made the population starve in a short time, and rebel against the food dictatorship * * *. "Was it necessary to introduce the class system of feeding into the Volga district so haphazardly?" asks the writer. "Oh no. There was enough bread ready for shipment in that region, and in many places it was rotting, because of the lack of railroad facilities. The class feeding system did not increase the amount of bread * * * it did create, together with the inefficient policy, and the lack of a distribution system, a state of starvation, which provoked dissatisfaction."

6. RED ARMY.

The Red Army ceased to be an army of volunteers by May of 1918. At first only the workmen and poorest peasants of certain districts were mobilized (Ordinance of All-Russian Central Executive Committee of May 16, 1918). Later all classes were mobilized (Mobilization Order No. 4, Izvestia, Sept. 26, 1918), and by this order the local military commissariats, the heads of families, presidents of Soviets, of committees of poverty, factory committees and house committees, at the place of work or residence of the man called to the colors, were held responsible for the nonappearance of the conscripted citizen. "Regimental committees, acting as administrative organs, can not exist in the Soviet army," says a pamphlet issued by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in 1918. The organization of the Red Army will be studied, it is expected, in a subsequent memorandum. Attention is called to the Red Army at this point because it also illustrates the oppressive character of the Bolshevist rule. It is used to handle the growing discontent, to solve the unemployment problem, and to collect food through "requisitioning detachments." The Red Army is the instrument of a minority. Great care is taken in selecting the soldiers for the actual combat corps:

DECREE ON MOBILIZATION OF PEASANTS.

The meaning of the decree that is introduced on the initiative of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries is that each Canton must furnish 10 to 20 fighters who are tested cooperators of the Soviet authority and have been recommended by the cantonal executive committees. Experience has shown that it is better to take a small number of class conscious fighters than an enormous mass of unconscious. The decree is adopted unanimously. (Petrograd Pravda, Apr. 27, 1919.)

RESOLUTION OF PETERSBURG SOVIET.

For the struggle against Kolchak, the Petersburg Soviet decrees to mobilize 10 per cent of all members of trade unions and 20 per cent of all communists and "candidates." To this end men are to be replaced in all Executive Committees, Commissariats, Unions of the Youth, organs of the Proletcult (Proletarian Culture), etc., by women, and for those mobilized whose years have not been called in, the conditions of subsistence and salary remain the same as previously published * * *. " (Petrograd Pravda, Apr. 27, 1919.)

Writing in the Petrograd Pravda of August 12, 1919, Trotsky used the following expressions:

The mobilization of the 19-year-old and part of the 18-year-old men, the inrush of the peasants who before refused to appear in answer to the mobilization decree, all of this is creating a powerful, almost inexhaustible, source from which to build up our army. * * * From now on any resistance to local authorities, any attempt to retain and protect any valuable and experienced military worker is deliberate sabotage. * * * No one should dare to forget that all Soviet Russia is an armed camp. * * * All Soviet institutions are obliged, immediately, within the next months, not only to furnish officers' schools with the best quarters, but, in general, they must furnish these schools with such material and special aids as will make it possible for the students to work in the most intensive manner. * * *

7. SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION.

Bolshevist programs for social reconstruction and education are comprehensive and in some respects good. Many decrees have been issued on this subject, but Lenin explained to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party:

If we had expected that the whole life of the village could be changed by the writing of thousands of decrees, we certainly would have been complete idiots; but if we had failed to indicate the road in decrees, we would have been traitors to Socialism. These decrees, which in actual practice would not be carried out immediately and fully, have played an enormous rôle for propaganda. (For full text of this speech, see Appendix III, p. 28.)

An analysis of these measures, with an attempt to determine to what extent they have been actually realized, will, it is hoped, be given in a subsequent memorandum. In the two

centers, Petrograd and Moscow, something seems to have been accomplished, but the descriptions of conditions in peasant villages given in the following paragraphs indicate that the "proletarian culture" has not reached very far.

8. PEASANT PROTESTS.

The peasants particularly have felt the tyranny of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," as applied by representatives of the Soviet authority. The Bolshevist leaders themselves realize what has developed in actual practice and try vainly to check the current they started by appeals to their collaborators (see Lenin's Report to Eighth Congress of Communist Party, Appendix III, p. 28), or by themselves exposing the true facts of the situation, as in the following articles selected from the Moscow Izvestias of May 1–14, 1919:

From the Province of Vitebsk the following letter came to the Izvestia:

"Of late there has been going on in the village a really scandalous orgy. It is necessary to call attention to the destructive work of the scoundrels who worked themselves into responsible positions. Evidently all the good and unselfish beginnings of the workmen's and peasants' authority were either purposely or unintentionally perverted by these adventurers in order to undermine the confidence of the peasants in the existing government in order to provoke dissatisfaction and rebellion. It is no exaggeration to say that no open counter-revolutionary or enemy of the proletariat has done as much harm to the socialist republic as the charlatans of this sort. Take, as an instance, the third district of the government of Vitebsk, the county of Veliashkov. Here the taxes imposed upon the peasants were as follows: P. Stoukov, owning 17 desiatins, was compelled to pay a tax of 5,000 rubles, while U. Voprit, owning 24 desiatins, paid only 500 rubles. S. Grigoriev paid 2,000 on 29 desiatins, while Ivan Tselov paid 8,000 on 23 desiatins." (Quoting some more instances the writer adds that the soil was alike in all cases. He then brings some examples of the wrongs committed by the requisitioning squads.)

Latkin, a Red Army soldier, returned from a journey through several counties of the Province of Moscow, gave to the Izvestia of May 7, 1919, the following description of the frame of mind of the peasant, which he describes as very gloomy:

The peasants are dissatisfied with the war, are against the Red Army, and therefore give protection to deserters and persuade the soldiers not to obey orders. The middle peasant is beginning to cooperate with the village capitalists in their resistance to the Soviet authorities. (The Izvestia adds to the story of Latkin its own comment, consisting of a question as to why the peasants are dissatisfied and takes Latkin to task for not suggesting remedies and for having failed to enlighten the peasants.)

From a village in the Province of Tambov one Vopatin writes to the Izvestia, as follows:

Help! we are perishing! At the time when we are starving, do you know what is going on in the villages? Take for instance, our village, Olkhi. Speculation is rife there, especially with salt, which sells at 40 rubles a pound. What does the militia do? What do the Soviets do? When it is reported to them, they wave their hands and say, "This is a normal phenomenon." Not only this, but the militiamen, beginning with the chief and including some communists, are all engaged in brewing their own alcohol, which sells for 70 rubles a bottle. Nobody who is in close touch with the militia is afraid to engage in this work. Hunger is ahead of us, but neither the citizens nor the "authorities" recognize it. The people's judge also drinks, and if one wishes to win a case one only needs to treat him to a drink. We live in a terrible filth. There is no soap. People and horses all suffer from skin diseases. Epidemics are inevitable in the summer. If Moscow will pay no attention to us, then we shall perish. We had elections for the village and county Soviets, but the voting occurred in violation of the constitution of the Soviet Government.

As a result of this a number of village capitalists, who, under the guise of communists, entered the party in order to avoid the requisitions and contributions, were elected. The laboring peasantry is thus being turned against the Government, and this at a time when the hosts of Kolchak are advancing from the east.

The following statement is taken from the report on a Bolshevist investigation of peasant uprisings (Izvestias, May 1–14, 1919):

The local communists behave with rare exceptions abominably, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that we were able to explain to the peasants that we also were communists.

9. SUMMARY.

An American representative at the Finnish frontier gathering information from refugees from Soviet Russia, reports as follows, under dates of June 25 and July 2, 1919:

The fall of Bolshevism, which seemed inevitable even two months ago, has created the wildest terrorism. People are executed without trial in masses on mere suspicion of sympathy with the Soviet's enemies. * * * Terror and necessity compel work for the Soviet Government but this work is much encumbered by theory, inexperience, and

corruption. * * * There will be a slaughtering of Bolsheviks as soon as the deliverers are near the centers and the Red terror ceases to be feared, but terror, hunger, and disease have temporarily created apathy. * * * The strength of the Bolsheviks lies in their organization. Terror, combined with most elaborate espionage at home and propaganda in and behind the ranks of the enemy make them still a formidable force.

Terror is daily increasing and people are being shot not only for agitation against the Soviet Government but for any other accusation. The fact of not being in the Soviet service, of having relatives who are abroad, or the possibility of intending to join a new government is sufficient reason for execution * * *. Espionage and provocation are developed to the highest perfection. Agents of the Extraordinary Commissions are everywhere, in all departments, railroad carriages, streets, and private houses.

(For full texts of these reports, see Appendixes XII and XIII, p. 35.)

II. ECONOMIC RESULTS OF BOLSHEVIST CONTROL.

1. BLAME ON OTHERS.

The economic collapse of Soviet Russia is admitted by the Bolsheviks themselves, as is seen in some of the quotations from their own newspapers given below. The Bolsheviks, however, blame the incompetence of the old Tsarist régime, and of the Lvov and Kerensky governments, and economic isolation or blockade for the desperate situation to which they have brought Russia. Some of these factors have indeed contributed to the breakdown of the economic life of the country. But Bolshevist theories and methods have unquestionably been the main cause of the chaos one finds in Soviet Russia after two years of the Bolshevist régime.

2. ABANDONMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

The admitted failure and consequent abandonment of many of their economic tenets may, it is hoped, be analyzed in a subsequent memorandum. "Nationalization" in the sense of "communization" of the land would seem to have been definitely rejected, though only during the last months. The Supreme Soviet of National Economy, the highest Soviet authority for all economic problems, has come under the control of a very small group of men. Workmen's control was abolished after a few months of trial. These facts are frankly admitted by the Bolsheviks themselves.

3. POLICY OF DESTRUCTION.

During the first period the avowed aim of the Bolsheviks was first of all to destroy all the institutions of the old order. (See Lenin's Theses of March, 1919, Appendix II, p. 25.) It was emphasized that this had to be done before constructive work could be undertaken. In October, 1918, the constructive period was supposed to have arrived. But as it was somehow delayed in economic fields, the Bolshevist sympathizers began to emphasize constructive efforts along social and educational lines. As already pointed out, social reconstruction and educational work has been limited to the constantly decreasing minority of the urban proletariat in the large cities. The majority of those who have observed the Bolsheviks at work, unanimously agree that there has been little evidence of constructive accomplishments, even when the Bolsheviks abandon their principles, falling back into some of the so-called capitalistic methods, and bringing in "bourgeois" experts. Others emphasize that the majority of the Bolshevist administrators have practiced and extended the generally recognized, and condemned, abuses of the "capitalist" system, to the distress of such idealists as may be among them. (See reports on All-Russian Extraordinary Commissions, which combat speculation, as well as counter-revolution and sabotage, Appendix VI, p. 32.)

4. THE BUDGET.

It is naturally difficult to document from the Bolshevist newspapers the statement respecting the absence of constructive accomplishments. They publish their budget for the first half year of 1919, showing a deficit of some 30,000,000,000 rubles. A study of the items of this budget shows the large expenditures for their governmental machinery: "All-Russian Central Executive Committee—459,156,743 rubles"; and enormous appropriations for the "Red Army—12,149,770,487 rubles". The Bolshevist publicists, in discussing the budget, try to

explain away this enormous deficit. (See article in Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn, May 21, 1919, Appendix XIV, p. 39.) One writer, in the Severnaya Kommuna of March 23, 1919, finds the solution:

The deficit of 28,744,702,112 rubles can be covered only by emission of paper money. This is an inevitable situation until the economic restoration of the country, and until the government has at its disposition, as the result of the nationalization of production and commerce, the greater part of the articles of consumption. The economic restoration depends on the reconstitution of Russia and its entering into commercial relations with foreign countries.

The writer, however, calls attention to the depreciation of the ruble, and to the general high cost of living and shortage of products in other countries:

The budget figures are certainly colossal, but it is necessary to consider the depreciation of the ruble; 50,000,000,000 rubles become in reality 5,000,000,000, which is normal in view of contemporary high cost of living and shortage of products in the whole world.

5. ISSUE OF PAPER MONEY.

The Bolsheviks have in fact resorted to the expedient of issuing more paper money to meet the crisis they have produced. The Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn (May 21, 1919), which is the most important official publication on economic matters, gives the following table of the amount of paper money in circulation:

	Rubles.
Issues before the revolution (March 1917)	9, 950, 000, 000
Issued by the Kerensky government	8, 967, 000, 000
Issued by Bolsheviks to January, 1919	36, 353, 000, 000

	Rubles.
(In the form of Tsar rubles (approximately)	20, 000, 000, 000
Issued before the revolution (March, 1917)	9, 950, 000, 000
Tsar rubles printed and issued by Bolsheviks	10, 050, 000, 000
In the form of Duma and Kerensky rubles	35, 270, 500, 000
Issued by Kerensky government	8, 967, 000, 000
Duma and Kerensky rubles issued by Bolsheviks	26, 303, 500, 000

These figures are exclusive of the various issues made in order to supply local needs at various times,

In order to meet this situation, the following decree was issued on May 15, 1919:

For the purpose of gradual conversion of all the paper currency at present in circulation, which state of affairs is not in accord with the principles of the new form of government existing in Russia, as well for the sake of excluding from circulation of the various money substitutes, which have been issued to meet the shortage of paper currency, the Council of People's Commissaries has decreed to issue a new paper currency (1918 model) on the following basis:

1. The new bills will be issued in denominations of 1, 3, 5, 10, 25, 50, 100, 250, 500, and 1,000 rubles.
2. The aforesaid bills will be legal tender on the whole territory of the Russian Socialistic Federated Soviet Republic for any amount and in any institutions.
3. All moneys in circulation at present continue as legal tender on the same basis as the new money. The People's Commissariat for Finance shall determine dates and regulations governing the redemption of all moneys in circulation now for the new bills.
4. The emission of the new bills of 1918 model is to begin on the 1st of June, 1919, in the usual manner by the People's Bank.
5. The People's Bank has the right to issue bills above the limit established by the decree of December 25, 1918, in accordance with the actual needs of state economy in money.

V. Ulianov (Lenin),
President of the Council of People's Commissaries.
N. Krestinsky,
People's Commissary for Finances.
V. Bonch-Bruevich,
Executive Secretary.
L. Fotieva,
Secretary.

(Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn, May 21, 1919.)

This decree refers to redemption of former issues, regulations for which will be published later. What the Bolsheviks really have in mind is to force the peasants to sell their products. This was explained very frankly by one of the commissaries:

Currency plans.—Zorin tells me that the Soviet Government has or had printed a new issue of currency which it is proposed to exchange for the old currency within the next three months. The details of the plan have not been completed, but he thinks that an exchange of ruble for ruble will be made up to 3,000; an additional 2,000 will be placed on deposit in the Government bank. That beyond 5,000 only a small percentage will be allowed to anyone, and that a limit of possibly 15,000 will be placed beyond which no rubles will be exchanged. Then the plan is, after a certain period, to declare the old ruble valueless. Zorin feels that as a result of this plan the new ruble will have some value and that the present situation in the country in which the farmer has so much paper that he refuses to sell any longer for money, will be relieved. This exchange would be followed later on by the issue of still other currency, the entire purpose being the more equal distribution of wealth and the gradual approach to elimination of currency. (Memorandum of W. W. Pettit, Apr. 4, 1919, to American Peace Mission. Hearings on Treaty of Peace with Germany before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, p. 1288.)

6. DISORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY.

The complete disorganization of the administrative machinery is frankly admitted by Rykov, the president of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, in a statement to the Moscow Soviet on March 4, 1919:

We have 100,000,000 puds of coal, 10,000,000 puds of grain, and several million puds of fish at our disposal which we can not move. In the spring a part will spoil. Transport is impossible, as we have no fuel, and the situation regarding the want of it is that 2,000,000 puds of machine oil had to be used as substitute for want of liquid fuel. Railroad communication will have to be reduced, which will again reflect on the supply of food. We have, therefore, to utilize transport by river as soon as navigation is opened. We also will have to fight with the local Soviets, who often hide their stocks, as for instance the Yaroslav Soviet hiding 500,000 puds of petroleum. The textile industry is also in a critical state; up to 10,000,000 puds of cotton is wanted and flax is scarce, as the peasants spin for their own want or use it for heating purposes. A way out of these difficulties would be to take the Caucasus with its supply of petroleum and to increase productiveness of labor. At present we produce only 5 pairs of boots for 100 people, and however so many Kerensky rubles we would pay to workmen only 1 in 20 can receive a pair. (Severnaya Kommuna, Mar. 7, 1919.)

7. PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR.

The official organ of the trade unions of Petrograd, the Trud, of April 28, 1919, in discussing the closing down of 19 textile mills, notes the following reasons for the economic chaos:

Of great significance in our textile crisis is also the inefficient using of what could be used, as the productiveness of labor has dropped to nil, while there is not even a hint of labor discipline, and the machines have become useless as the result of careless handling, and their productive capacity lowered.

A similar situation had developed in Moscow:

At a conference of the main administrative boards of textile enterprises the question of closing down textile factories was discussed. As a result of the debates it was resolved to consider inexpedient the closing down of factories, to recognize as necessary only the partial closing down in dependence on local conditions and the situation of the various enterprises of the textile industry.

It was also resolved to take measures to preserve the basic groups of workmen in these enterprises, and to establish them in necessary work during the period of the closing down of factories. It was also resolved to use the period of closure to make repairs and to lay in supplies of raw material and fuel, and also to use these workmen for agricultural work. The question of closing down all textile industries will be decided finally at a joint conference of representatives of the main administrative board and of the trade union of textile workers. (Moscow Izvestia, Apr. 3, 1919.)

8. INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE.

One of the results of the disorganization of the textile industry was the following:

The official estimate of cloth needs for Moscow for 1919, its population being given as 600,000 adult males, 700,000 adult females, and 300,000 children, is as follows:

	Arsheens.
Heavy cloth	2,366,670
Light cloth	12,116,670
Cotton cloth	52,066,670

During September, October, and November altogether 5,000 000 arsheens of cloth have been issued to the population, which is considered one-third of the actual needs. (Izvestia, Feb. 6, 1919.)

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Other branches of industry were collapsing in the late autumn of 1918, at the very moment when it was said that the "constructive period" had arrived in Soviet Russia:

The quantity of benzine is so small that "Provodnik," (one of the largest rubber manufacturing enterprises of Russia), has only enough to last for two months; the factories of "Bogatyr" are still more inadequately supplied with rubber. The stocks of rubber are barely sufficient for another two months' production. The number of workmen employed has fallen from 32,000 to 7,500. (From the official Bolshevist newspaper, National Economy and Finances, Nov. 12, 1918.)

The disorganization of sugar manufacture and beet-root production led to an almost total lack of sugar. The occupation of the Ukraine by the Germans was emphasized as the cause of this particular crisis. There was frank admission, however, that disorganization within Soviet Russia also was a contributing factor. The Red Army was to be supplied with sugar, however:

A total lack of sugar is inevitable. Out of the 238 sugar manufactories, only 32 are on the territory actually belonging to the Soviets. The majority of these factories are out of working order. On the other hand, the land planted with beet root is very inconsiderable. At the most it would only be possible to produce 7,000,000 puds of sugar if the ground planted (actually 10,000 desiatins) were increased to 70,000 desiatins. The population needs at least 35,000,000 puds of sugar. Therefore, it is to be feared that only the Red Army will be able to obtain sugar next year. (Official newspaper, National Economy and Finances, Nov. 12, 1918.)

Many other Bolshevist statements, such as the following, might be quoted to show the economic chaos that has come to Soviet Russia under the Bolshevist economic program:

Out of 33 cement factories existing in Russia, only 14 are in a position to be used, but on account of the shortage of fuel, none of those factories are working at present. The reserves of cement amount to 1,080,000 tons, whereas formerly, the annual production amounted to 18,000,000 tons. If 50 per cent of the present actual annual production of coal were used for the production of cement only three factories could work, thus producing the annual output of 1,600,000 tons. (National Economy and Finances, Nov. 12, 1919.)

9. BREAKDOWN OF TRANSPORTATION.

The breakdown of all means of transportation has been the most serious aspect of the situation. Even river transportation, which is of great importance in Russia, has become disorganized:

Fifty per cent of the Russian internal steam and sailing mercantile fleet was not in a condition to resume navigation at the beginning of the present season, on account of the lack of workers, fuel, and the decrease in laborers' productivity. Altogether 1,407 steamers were registered and 2,146 other boats. (Moscow Izvestias, May 1–14, 1919.)

The railways are going to pieces in the literal sense of the phrase; locomotives have been scrapped at a disastrous rate and few are being produced:

At a meeting held in connection with the strike at the Putilov factory, Zinoviev said that from August, 1918, to February, 1919, the factory had only turned out 5 locomotives. For the year 1918 the factory had cost the State a deficit of 58,000,000 rubles. (Severnaya Kommuna, Mar. 15, 1919.)

An American representative reports from Finland, under date of August 27, 1919:

A report of the Commissariat of Railroads shows that there are only 250 locomotives now in commission in Soviet Russia. Of these 21 are operating on the Nicholas Railroad (Petrograd–Moscow).

The incompetence of the Bolshevist administrative departments has been described in published accounts by Russians who have served under the Soviet Government. German and English newspapers have published the personal experiences in Soviet offices of British employees or German prisoners who had joined and worked with the Bolsheviks. Items in Bolshevist newspapers give less detailed but very definite pictures of muddling and lack of foresight:

From August, 1918, to February 20, 1919, the food supply department had bought up or requisitioned 82,633,582 puds of grain. Of this amount 22,245,172 puds could not be moved owing to the shortage of engines. A considerable portion of the above grain has since rotted. (Pravda, Mar. 15, 1919.)

The latest reports from American representatives stationed on the border of Soviet Russia give the prevailing prices in Petrograd for September 1, 1919:

Butter, 360 rubles a pound; salt, 91 roubles a pound; black bread, 130 rubles a pound; dog meat, 90 rubles a pound; and wood, 2,000 rubles a sazhen (approximately a half cord).

10. FOOD SUPPLY.

A catastrophic situation with respect to the food supply is the natural result of what has been described above. This is reflected in the decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of February 28, 1919:

At the present moment horses are being killed for meat in large quantities and in a disorganized manner. Not only are horses that can not be used in the army or for work being killed, but also horses which might be used successfully by the peasants.

This state of affairs threatens catastrophe, interfering with the proper supply of the army, and also of the peasants, who in spring may not have sufficient horses to cultivate the fields.

In order to protect the horses within the limits of Petrograd: (1) It is absolutely forbidden to kill horses capable of work; (2) may be killed for meat horses with diseases, defects and wounds which make them incapable of work, and also such as have been discarded by the army, which can not be used for any kind of work; (3) the determination of incapacity of horses for work is entrusted to veterinary departments of Soviet institutions on whose orders horses may be killed * * * (4) horses deliberately crippled or made incapable of work in order to secure permission to kill will be confiscated and turned over to the local supply organs, and all persons guilty of such acts as well as persons found killing horses without the permission indicated in point 3 will be brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

V. Ulianov (Lenin),
President of Council of People's Commissaries.
V. Bonch-Bruevich,
Executive Secretary.
L. Fotieva,
Secretary.

(Izvestia, Feb. 28, 1919.)

11. DISTRESS IN AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS.

Economic distress is not confined to the cities. An American representative reports from Finland under date of July 2, 1919:

The agricultural situation is desperate. All farm equipment stolen from the landlords' estates at beginning of the revolution is now spoilt, and there is no one to repair it, and it would not be of much use anyway as there are no seeds, and persons possessing do not intend sowing them, but try to sell on the sly, as the Bolsheviks took the last autumn crop from the peasants at a low figure. Peasants just cultivate sufficient for their own needs and a quantity, which is allowed, is kept. Former private estates are managed by a commission of all kinds of rabble or by a Soviet steward. In most cases all that was left of the estate has disappeared; enormous accounts are presented and money received, and except immense losses the estate produces nothing. Live stock formerly stolen and sold by the Bolsheviks now is requisitioned from the richer peasants. (For full text see Appendix XIII, p. 35.)

12. SUMMARY.

A well-known Russian Socialist and Revolutionist, Gregory Alexinsky, came out from Soviet Russia in the late spring of this year. He was interviewed for the Copenhagen Social-demokraten and the interview was forwarded to Washington. This able summary of economic conditions in Soviet Russia has already been released to the press by the Department of State:

The condition of affairs in Bolshevist Russia is very distressing. The majority of the industrial enterprises are not operating. In the Moscow district 63 textile factories stopped working last fall, and the same picture appears with respect to the textile industry in the vicinity of Ivanovo-Vozesensk near Petrograd, etc. The chemical industry, the paper industry, and many others are likewise in a miserable condition.

The Bolshevist Government has done everything to keep the work going in the plants that produce ammunition, but nevertheless many of them are shut down. Owing to the lack of rolling stock transportation is not good. Locomotives and cars needing repairs are so numerous that the workshops are unable to cope with the repairs.

In order to increase production in Russia the Bolsheviks already have reintroduced the forms which existed prior to the socialization, particularly payment for the piecework, the premium system, etc. In short, parity of wages does not exist.

This lamentable picture of our industry's decay has, he continues, led to terrible complications for the workmen on account of the great shortage of provisions and an enormous increase in prices. Bread, "black bread," rye bread because there is no wheat left, costs 35 to 40 rubles per pound in Petrograd; sugar, 180 to 200 rubles per pound; butter, 140 to 180 rubles; tea, 200 rubles; men's footwear, 1,200 to 1,500 rubles per pair, etc. Horse meat costs 30 rubles per pound. In Moscow prices are about on the same scale. On the big market in Moscow (Sucharevskaya) dog meat is

being sold openly, and the official financial gazette publishes statistics showing fluctuations in the price of such meat (5 to 7 rubles per pound). Even a box of matches costs between 3½ and 4 rubles.

On account of shortage of provisions, fuel, soap, and other commodities that are absolutely indispensable for the public health and welfare contagious diseases are spreading everywhere. In Moscow the official statistical bureau calculates 10,000 cases of contagious diseases per week; of that number 8,000 cases are typhoid fever. In Petrograd 30 per cent of the patients in the communal hospitals die of ordinary consumption which is the result of famine.

In Petrograd there are only 700,000 inhabitants left out of 2½ millions.

(For full text of interview see Appendix XV, p. 41.)

III. BOLSHEVIST PROGRAM OF WORLD REVOLUTION.

1. BOLSHEVISM INTERNATIONAL, NOT NATIONAL.

It is of the essence of the Bolshevist movement that it is international and not national in character. The revolution in Russia is but the first incident in the Bolshevist program. This thought occurs in almost every proclamation or discourse of Lenin and his associates. In his formal program-theses, when the negotiations for peace were in progress (Izvestia, Mar. 8, 1918), Lenin says:

There is no doubt that the Socialist Revolution in Europe must come and will come. All our hopes for the definitive triumph of Socialism are based on this conviction and on this scientific prevision. Our propagandist activities in general, and the organization of fraternization in particular, must be strengthened and developed. (For the full text of these theses, see Appendix XVI, p. 42.)

The Bolshevist propagandist, Bukharin, writes in chapter XIX of his pamphlet "The Program of the Communists" (Moscow, July 19, 1918):

The program of the Communist party is not alone a program of liberating the proletariat of one country; it is the program of liberating the proletariat of the world. (For full text see Appendix XVII, p. 45.)

That the Bolsheviks are playing an international game and aim directly at the subversion of all Governments is disclosed by the avowed tactics of their foreign policy. In his "Peace Program," published at Petrograd February, 1918, Trotsky says:

If in awaiting the imminent proletarian flood in Europe, Russia should be forced to conclude peace with the present day Governments of the Central Powers, it would be a provisional, temporary, and transitory peace, with the revision of which the European Revolution will have to concern itself in the first instance. Our whole policy is built upon the expectation of this revolution.

A similar attitude with respect to the Allies is disclosed even more strikingly in extracts from a speech made by Zinoviev, president of the Petrograd Soviet, speaking February 2, 1919, on the subject of the Princes Island proposal:

We are willing to sign an unfavorable peace with the Allies. * * * It would only mean that we should put no trust whatever in the bit of paper we should sign. We should use the breathing space so obtained in order to gather our strength in order that the mere continued existence of our Government would keep up the world-wide propaganda which Soviet Russia has been carrying on for more than a year.

In an address before an extraordinary session of the Moscow Soviet April 3, 1919, Lenin said:

Spring brings us again to difficulties but I believe this will be our last difficult six months. The Entente and the Anglo-French capitalists will not be able to maintain their pressure longer. On the other hand, the conquests of the Red Army in the Ukraine and on the Don have strengthened our internal position. No matter how great our difficulties, we have great hopes for victory, not only in Russia but throughout the entire world. * * *

We are sure of our victory over the international Imperialists, and this for two reasons: First, because they have taken to fighting among themselves, and, second, because the Soviet movement is growing rapidly throughout the world. The situation of the Soviet Republic is improving every hour. The Imperialists are digging their own graves and there are plenty of people in their own countries who will bury them and pack the ground solid over their coffins.

The proletarian revolution in Hungary is proof of the spread of the Soviet movement. The Hungarian bourgeoisie has itself admitted that there is only one power in the world which can lead nations when the crisis comes and that is the Soviet power. Russian has given an example that the workmen of the whole world have understood.

I have hope that we shall live through all our trials and that to the Russian and Hungarian Soviet Republics will be added an international republic of Soviets. (Izvestia, April 5, 1919.)

2. TYPICAL PROCLAMATIONS.

Rushing from one front to the other the commander-in-chief of the Red Army issues proclamations and articles from his "Train of Comrade Trotsky," which is equipped with a printing press. This propaganda emphasizes the development of the revolutionary movement all over the world. The following sentences are taken from a typical example of Trotsky's writings (signed article by Trotsky, Petrograd Pravda, Apr. 23, 1919; for full text see Appendix XVIII, p. 46):

The decisive weeks in the history of mankind have arrived. * * *

Spring has come, the spring that decides; our strength is increased tenfold by the consciousness of the fact that the wireless stations of Moscow, Kiev, Budapest, and Munich exchange not only brotherly greetings, but also business agreements respecting common defensive struggle. * * *

To carry out our international duty we must first of all break up the bands of Kolchak, in order to support the victorious workmen of Hungary and Bavaria. In order to assist the uprisings of workmen in Poland, Germany and all Europe, we must establish definitely and irrefutably the Soviet authority over the whole extent of Russia.

The Moscow wireless station sends out dozens of messages every day, and many of them are appeals for "world revolution." The message of August 31, 1919, from Moscow, "To all radio employees in Siberia, the Don, the Caucasus, and other occupied Russian districts," the concluding paragraphs of which follow, also illustrates Bolshevist methods of broadcast propaganda:

Every effort must be exerted so that all messages from Soviet Russia will come to the ears of all workers; let each radio message sent by your brothers from Soviet Russia be read by all workmen and peasants; let the workers of the whole world know that behind the Red Army follow happiness, peace and fraternity of all peoples. The hour is already not far distant when our Red regiments will clear the way and unite us in one family, and at the Congress of radio employees of the whole of Russia our colleagues, amid general enthusiasm, will relate how, when employed at White Guard radio stations, they secretly worked as real proletarians, spreading and extending the workers' and peasants' radios beyond the boundaries of Soviet Russia, and boldly declare: "I was one of the participators in the world revolution!" We will say to those who played the part of traitors and turncoats during the decisive struggle between labor and capital: "The workmen will know how to deal with you according to your deserts." All radio workers who wish to escape from the yoke of the counter-revolutionary régime can boldly fly to Soviet Russia, where everybody is guaranteed work, according to his specialty, in complete security.

In Soviet Russia everyone has the right to work. Long live the solidarity of all radio workers! Long live the solidarity of workers throughout the world! Long live the Socialist world revolution!

THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION ON THE
RADIO SECTION OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN UNION OF
WORKMEN AND EMPLOYEES OF NATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS.

(Wireless News.)

3. COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Communist International, established by the Bolsheviks in Moscow in March, 1919, issues appeals "To the toilers of the whole world." Such a proclamation was sent out by wireless, and reprinted in all the Bolshevist newspapers, in connection with May 1 of this year, from which the following paragraphs are taken:

The communist revolution grows. The Soviet republics in Russia, Hungary and Bavaria report what has been accomplished daily. Germany is shaking with civil war. A revolution is taking place in Turkey. In Austria and Czecho-Slovakia the workmen are gathering under the glorious flag of socialism. In France enormous demonstrations have started: in Italy the struggle boils and the workmen call for a dictatorship of the proletariat. In England strikes have taken on the character of an epidemic. In America the working class comes out on the streets; in Japan the workmen are agitated; in the neutral countries like Holland and Switzerland hundreds and thousands of workmen recently took part in a political strike. The workmen of all countries have understood that the decisive moment has come. "Soviets"—by this you will conquer.

The workmen know that only a dictatorship of the proletariat can save humanity from that bloody horror into which the bourgeoisie in all countries has plunged it. The workmen know that the proletarian dictatorship will lead to a triumph of socialism. There is no middle course. Either the bloody dictatorship of executioners-generals, who will kill hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasants in the name of the interests of a band of bankers, or the dictatorship of the working class, that is of the overwhelming majority of toilers which will disarm the bourgeoisie, create its own Red Army and free the whole world of slavery. Down with the autocracy of tsars and kings.

(For full text see Appendix XIX, p. 47.)

This world-wide and international character of Bolshevism is well stated by the American representative at Archangel in a report of July 30, 1919, forwarding and commenting on Bolshevist newspapers:

> This sort of propaganda against the Peace Conference shows the imperialistic character of the present Moscow government which, while constantly pleading for noninterference in its own internal affairs never lets the people inhabiting its territory for a moment forget that the corner stone of its own foreign policy is to stir up strife and revolution in other countries.

4. COMPROMISES TACTICAL.

When the Bolsheviks say they want peace and give assurances that they wish simply to be let alone in order to work out their experiment in Russia, such offers to compromise are, it has been shown, purely tactical. After the expulsion of the Bolshevist Ambassador Joffe from Berlin, Chicherin boasted of the millions of roubles taken to Berlin for propaganda purposes (official note to German foreign office in Izvestia, Dec. 26, 1918). Another illustration of the "scrap of paper" attitude of the Bolsheviks toward treaties is contained in a signed article (Izvestia, Jan. 1, 1919) on "Revolutionary methods," in which Joffe himself says:

> Having accepted this forcibly imposed treaty (Brest-Litovsk), revoultionary Russia of course had to accept its second article which forbade "any agitation against the state and military institutions of Germany." But both the Russian Government as a whole and its accredited representative in Berlin never concealed the fact that they were not observing this article and did not intend to do so.

And this agitation continued even after the Bolsheviks had signed with Germany, August 27, 1918, the so-called supplementary treaties of Brest-Litovsk, which were not signed like the original treaty under seeming duress, but were actively sought for and gladly entered upon by the Bolsheviks.

By the supplementary agreement dealing with finance the Bolsheviks undertook to deliver to Germany "in compensation of losses sustained by Germans through Russian measures" 6,000,000,000 marks, of which one and one-half billions were to be paid partly in gold bullion and partly in paper money; 1,000,000,000 in Russian merchandise; two and one-half billion to be in the form of a loan to be guaranteed by certain state revenues and particularly the rent for "certain economic concessions which will be given to Germans;" the remaining 1,000,000,000 to be paid by the Ukraine or Finland, if the Bolsheviks might so arrange it, or in accordance with a special agreement to be made later. It was also agreed that all property of Germans in Russia, including bank deposits, expropriated by the Bolsheviks in pursuance of communist principles, should be returned to the former owners. Despite Bolshevist principles inheritance by Germans in Russia was also provided for.

English translations of the full texts of the supplementary treaties are published as Appendixes XX and XXI (pages 49 and ff).

APPENDIXES.

I.

Proclamation Calling the First Congress of the Communist International.

[Rosta, Official Telegraph Agency of the Bolsheviks, Feb. 24, 1919.]

Comrades: The undersigned parties and organizations consider it indispensable to call the first congress of the new Revolutionary International. During the war and the revolution it has become clear not only that the old socialistic and social-democratic parties have gone bankrupt, and the Second International with them, and that the elements included among the old Social-Democracy (the so-called "Center") were incapable of active revolutionary activity, but also that already now the framework is ready for the real revolutionary international. The gigantic pace of the world revolution which gives rise to new problems, the danger that this revolution may be killed by the alliance of the capitalistic states, which organize a "League of Nations" against the revolution, the attempt of the "traitor-socialists" to gather, and after having "amnestied" each other, to assist their governments and the bourgeoisie again to betray the working class, and finally in view of revolutionary experience and for the purpose of internationalizing the whole course of the revolution, we were induced to take the initiative in placing on the order of the day the question of calling the revolutionary proletarian parties to an international congress.

AIM AND TACTIC.

According to our opinion, the new International must be based on the recognition of the following principles, which we present as the platform and which have been worked out in accordance with the programs of the "Spartacus Association" in Germany and the Communist (Bolshevik) Party in Russia:

1. The present is the period of destruction and crushing of the capitalistic system of the whole world, and it will be a catastrophe for the whole European culture, should capitalism with all its insoluble contradictions not be done away with.

2. The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer power. To conquer power means to destroy the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie and to organize a new proletarian governmental apparatus.

3. The new apparatus of the Government must express the dictatorship of the working class (and in certain places even the dictatorship of the half-proletariat in the villages, that is the peasant proletariat), that is, to persist in the systematic suppression of the exploiting classes and be the means of expropriating them. No false bourgeois democracy—this treacherous form of the power of a financial oligarchy— with its mere external equality—but a proletarian democracy able to realize the freedom of the working masses; no parliamentarism, but the self-government of the masses through their elected organs; no capitalistic bureaucracy, but governing organs which have been appointed by the masses themselves, through the real participation of these masses in the governing of the country and the socialistic work of reorganization—such ought to be the type of the proletarian state. The Soviet power or a corresponding organization of government is its concrete expression.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be the occasion for the immediate expropriation of capital and the elimination of the private right of owning the means of production, through making them common public property. The socialization (meaning doing away with private property and making it the property of the proletarian state, which is managed by the workers on a socialistic basis) of the large-scale industries and the central bodies organized by the same, including the banks, the confiscation of the capitalistic agricultural production, the monopolization of large-scale commerce; the socialization of the large buildings in the towns and in the country; the establishment of a workmen's government and the concentration of the economic functions in the hands of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship—are the most essential aims of the day.

5. In order to protect the socialist revolution against external and internal enemies, and to assist the fighting proletariats of other countries, it becomes necessary to entirely disarm the bourgeoisie and its agents and to arm the proletariat.

6. The world situation demands immediate and as perfect as possible relations between the different groups of the revolutionary proletariat and a complete alliance of all the countries, in which the revolution has already succeeded.

7. The most important method is the mass action of the proletariat, including armed struggle against the Government power of capitalists.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIALIST PARTIES.

8. The old International has been divided in three main groups: the frank Socialist-Chauvinists, who, during the whole imperialistic war, 1914–1918, supported the bourgeoisie and undertook the rôle of executioners of the laborers' revolution; the "Center", the theoretical leader of which is Kautsky, and which within itself contains mostly wavering elements, who are unable to follow any decided lines, but sometimes are clearly traitorous to the International; and finally the Left Revolutionary Wing.

9. Toward the Socialist-Chauvinists, who everywhere and especially on the most critical occasions appear with arms in their hands against the proletarian revolution, we can only advocate a struggle without quarter, and toward the "Center" such a tactic as would separate the most revolutionary elements from the rest by criticizing and exposing the leaders. It is absolutely necessary to see to it that the labor organizations at a certain stage of development are kept from being controlled by the "Center".

10. It is necessary to organize the revolutionary elements among the workers who have not as yet joined the socialistic parties, but completely stand on the side of the proletarian dictatorship in the form which it has assumed in the Soviet system. Such are first of all the syndicalist elements of the workers.

11. Finally it is necessary to include all proletarian groups or organizations which, if they have not openly joined the Left Revolutionary movement show, however, tendencies in that direction.

12. We propose that in the Congress should participate representatives of the following parties, groups and movements (which have the right to full membership in the Third International):

(1) Spartacus-Association of Germany; (2) The Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Russia; (3) Communist Party in German Austria; (4) The Communist Party of Hungary; (5) The Communist Party of Poland; (6) The Communist Party of Finland; (7) The Communist Party of Esthonia; (8) The Communist Party of Lettland; (9) The Communist Party of Lithuania; (10) The Communist Party of White-Russia; (11) The Communist Party of the Ukraine; (12) The revolutionary elements within the Czech Social-Democracy; (13) The Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria; (14) The Social-Democratic Party of Roumania; (15) The Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Serbia; (16) The Social-Democratic Left Party of Sweden; (17) The Social-Democratic Party of Norway; (18) The Socialist Workers' Party of Denmark; (19) The Communist Party of the Netherlands; (20) The revolutionary elements within the Workers' Party of Belgium; (21 and 22) Groups and organizations within the socialist and syndicalist movements of France, mainly solidary with Loriot; (23) Left Social-Democrats of Switzerland; (24) Socialist Party of Italy; (25) The left elements within the Socialist Party of Spain; (26) The left elements of the Socialist Party of Portugal; (27) The Socialist Party of Great Britain (especially adherents of MacLean's groups); (28) The Socialist Labor Party (S. L. P.) of England; (29) I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World) of England; (30) I. W. of Great Britain; (31) The revolutionary elements of "shop steward" movement of England; (32) The revolutionary elements of the labor organizations of Ireland; (33) Socialist Labor Party of America (S. L. P.); (34) The left elements of the Socialist Party of America (S. P.) (especially that group which is represented by Debs and the socialist propaganda association); (35) I. W. W. of America; (36) I. W. W. of Australia; (37) Workers International Industrial Union (W. I. I. U.) of America; (38) Socialistic groups in Tokio and Yokohama (represented by Katayama); (39) Socialistic International Youth.

THE QUESTION OF ORGANIZATION AND THE NAME OF THE PARTY.

13. The Third International's basis has been worked out so that in different parts of Europe groups and organizations of similarly thinking people have been formed which join the same program and practically follow the same tactics. This first of all applies to the Spartacans in Germany and the Communist parties in many other countries.

14. The Congress must lay the foundation of a common fighting organ, which will be a uniting link, and methodically lead the movement of the center for the Communist International, which subordinates the interests of the movement in every separate country to the common interests of the Revolution on an international scale. The concrete forms for the organizations, the representation, etc., are to be worked out at the Congress.

15. The Congress shall be called "The First Communist International Congress" of which the different parties will form the sections. Marx and Engels even considered the name "Social-Democrats" theoretically wrong. The humiliating bankruptcy of the old "International" demands a new name. In addition, the nucleus of the great movement is already formed by many parties, which have already taken the name of Communist.

In view of the above we propose that all affiliated parties and organizations take up, on the order of the day, the subject of calling an International Communist Congress.

With fraternal greetings,

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (LENIN, TROTSKY).
THE FOREIGN BUREAU OF POLAND'S COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY (KARSKI).
THE FOREIGN BUREAU OF HUNGARY'S COMMUNIST PARTY (RUDNJANSKI).
THE FOREIGN BUREAU OF THE GERMAN-AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (OUDO).
THE RUSSIAN BUREAU FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LETTISH COMMUNIST PARTY (ROSIN).
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY (SIROLA).
THE ACTING COMMITTEE FOR THE FEDERATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY BALKAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS (RAKOWSKY).
THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA (REINSTEIN).

II.

Theses of Report of Comrade Lenin, on Bourgeois and Proletarian Democracies.

[Petrograd Pravda, Mar. 8, 1919.]

1. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries has called forth convulsive efforts of the bourgeoisie and its agents in workmen's organizations, to find ideal-political arguments in defense of the rule of the exploiters. Among these arguments stands out particularly condemnation of dictatorship and defense of democ racy. The falseness and hypocrisy of such an argument, which has been repeated in thousands of forms in the capitalist press and at the conference of the yellow International in February, 1919, Berne, are evident to all who have not wished to betray the fundamental principle of socialism.

2. First of all, this argument is used with certain interpretations of "democracy in general" and "dictatorship in general" without raising the point as to which class one has in mind. Such a statement of the question, leaving out of consideration the question of class as though it were a general national matter, is direct mockery of the fundamental doctrine of socialism, namely, the doctrine of class struggle, which the socialists who have gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie recognize when they talk, but forget when they act. For in no civilized, capitalist country does there exist "democracy in general," but there exists only bourgeois democracy, and one is speaking not of "dictatorship in general" but of dictatorship of the oppressed classes, that is, of the proletariat with respect to the oppressors and exploiters, that is, the bourgooisie, in order to overcomo the resistance which the exploiters make in their struggle to preserve their rule.

3. History teaches that no oppressed class has ever come into power and can not come into power, without passing through a period of dictatorship, that is, the conquest of power and the forcible suppression of the most desperate and mad resistance, which does not hesitate to resort to any crimes, such has always been shown by the exploiters. The bourgeoisie, whose rulo is now defended by the socialists who speak against "dictatorship in general" and who espouse the causo of "democracy in general," has won power in the progressive countries at the price of a series of uprisings, civil wars, forcible suppression of kings, feudal lords, and slave owners, and of their attempts at restoration. The socialists of all countries, in their books and pamphlets, in the resolutions of their congresses, in their propaganda speeches, have explained to the people thousands and millions of times the class character of these bourgeois revolutions, and of this bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore the present defense of bourgeois-democracy in the form of speeches about "democracy in general," and the present wails and shouts against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of wails about "dictatorship in general," are a direct mockery of socialism, and represent in fact going over to the bourgeoisie and denying tho right of the proletariat to its own proletarian revolution, and a defense of bourgeois reformism, precisely at the historic moment when bourgeois reformism is collapsing the world over, and when the war has created a revolutionary situation.

4. All socialists who explain the class character of bourgeois civilization, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarism, express tho thought which Marx and Engels expressed with the most scientific exactness when they said that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing more than a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, for the suppression of the mass of the toilers by a handful of capitalists. There is not a single revolutionist, not a single Marxist of all those who are now shouting against dictatorship and for democracy, who would not have sworn before the workmen that he recognizes this fundamental truth of socialism. And now, when the revolutionary proletariat begins to act and move for the destruction of this machinery of oppression, and to win the proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism report the situation as though the bourgeoisie were giving the laborers puro democracy, as though tho bourgeoisie were abandoning resistance and were ready to submit to the majority of the toilers, as though there were no state machinery for the suppression of labor by capital in a democratic republic.

5. The Paris Commune, which all who wish to be considered socialists celebrate in words, for they know that the working masses sympathize with the Paris Commune keenly and sincerely, showed with particular clearness the historically conditional character and the limited worth, of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy—institutions in a high degree progressive as compared with the Middle Ages, but inevitably requiring radical changes in the epoch of proletarian revolution. It was Marx who best showed in his analysis the exploiting character of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism, under which the oppressed classes received the right to decide once every few years which representatives of the propertied classes are to "represent and suppress" the people in parliament. Precisely at the present moment when the Soviet movement, covering the whole world, continues the work of the Commune before the eyes of the wholo world, the traitors to socialism forget concrete experiences and the concrete lessons of the Paris Commune, repeating the old bourgeois rubbish about "democracy in general." The Commune was not a parliamentary institution.

6. Further, the significance of the Commune lies in the fact that it attempted to break up and destroy completely the bourgeois state machinery, of officials, of judges, of military officials, of police, setting up instead self-administrating mass organizations of workmen, which did not recognize the division into legislative and executive authorities. All present-day bourgeois-democratic republics, including the German, which the traitors to socialism, scoffing at truth call proletarian, preserve this governmental apparatus. Therefore it is proven once more, and quite clearly, that the shouts in defense of "democracy in general" are in fact defense of the bourgeoisie and its exploiting privileges.

7. "Freedom of meeting" may be taken as an example of the demands for "pure democracy." Any conscious workman who has not broken with his own class will understand immediately that it would be stupid to permit freedom

of meetings to exploiters at this period, and under the present circumstances, when the exploiters are resisting their overthrow, and are fighting for their privileges. When the bourgeoisie was revolutionary, in England in 1649, and in France in 1793, it did not give "freedom of meetings" to monarchists and nobles who were calling in foreign troops and who were "meeting" to organize attempts at restoration. If the present bourgeoisie, which has been reactionary for a long time now, demands of the proletariat that the latter guarantee in advance freedom of meetings for exploiters no matter what resistance the capitalists may show to the measures of expropriation directed against them, the workmen will only laugh at the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand the workmen know very well that "freedom of meetings," even in the most democratic bourgeois republic, is an empty phrase, for the rich have all the best public and private buildings at their disposal, and also sufficient leisure time for meetings and for the protection of these meetings by the bourgeois apparatus of authority. The proletarians of the city and of the village, and the poor peasants, that is, the overwhelming majority of the population, have none of these three things. So long as the situation is such, "equality," that is, "pure democracy" is sheer fraud. In order to secure genuine equality, in order to realize in fact democracy for the toilers, one must first take away from the exploiters all public and luxurious private dwellings, one must give leisure time to the toilers, one must protect the freedom of their meetings by armed workmen, and not by noble or capitalist officers with brow-beaten soldiers.

Only after such a change can one speak of freedom of meetings and of equality, without scoffing at workmen, toilers, and the poor. And no one can bring about this change except the advance guard of the toilers, that is, the proletariat, by overthrowing the exploiters, the bourgeoisie.

8. "Freedom of press" is also one of the main arguments of "pure democracy," but again the workmen know that the socialists of all countries have asserted millions of times that this freedom is a fraud so long as the best printing machinery and the largest supplies of paper have been seized by the capitalists, and so long as the power of capital over the press continues, which power in the whole world is clearly more harsh and more cynical in proportion to the development of democratism and the republican principle, as, for example, in America. In order to secure actual equality and actual democracy for the toilers, for workmen and peasants, one must first take from capitalists the possibility of hiring writers, of buying up publishing houses, of buying up newspapers, and to this end one must overthrow the yoke of capital, overthrow the exploiters, and put down all resistance on their part. The capitalists have always called "freedom" the freedom to make money for the rich, and the freedom to die of hunger for workmen. The capitalists call "freedom" the freedom of the rich, freedom to buy up the press, freedom to use wealth, to manufacture and support so-called public opinion. The defenders of "pure democracy" again in actual fact turn out to be the defenders of the most dirty and corrupt system of the rule of the rich over the means of education of the masses. They deceive the people by attractive, fine-sounding, beautiful but absolutely false phrases, trying to dissuade the masses from the concrete historic task of freeing the press from the capitalists who have gotten control of it. Actual freedom and equality will exist only in the order established by the Communists, in which it will be impossible to become rich at the expense of another, where it will be impossible either directly or indirectly to subject the press to the power of money, where there will be no obstacle to prevent any toiler (or any large group of such) from enjoying and actually realizing the equal right to the use of public printing presses and of the public fund of paper.

9. The history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries showed us, even before the war, what sort of a thing this famous "pure democracy" really is when one has capitalism. The Marxists have always said that where democracy is most developed and "pure," and the class struggle becomes most apparent, sharp and pitiless, there the yoke of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie also stand out in a most "pure" form.

The Dreyfus affair in republican France, the reprisals of hired battalions, armed by capitalists, against strikers in the free and democratic Republic of America, these and thousands of similar facts show the truth, which the bourgeoisie tries frantically to conceal, namely, that in the most democratic republics terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie rule in actual fact, showing themselves openly whenever the exploiters begin to feel that the power of capital is shaking.

10. The imperialistic war of 1914–1918 definitely revealed, even to the retrograde workmen, the true character of bourgeois democracy, even in the freest republics. For the enrichment of a German or an English group of millionaires or billionaires, tens of millions were killed, and in the freest republics the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was established. This military dictatorship continues even after the defeat of Germany in the countries of the Entente. The war has been the chief agency by which the eyes of the toilers have been opened, for it tore off the false flowers from bourgeois democracy, and showed to the whole people the enormous speculation and profiteering, in time of war and because of the war. The bourgeoisie continued this war in the name of freedom and equality, and in the name of freedom and equality war contractors have become rich to unheard-of proportions. Despite its efforts to do so the yellow Berne International will not conceal from us the exploiting character of bourgeois freedom, of bourgeois equality, of bourgeois democracy, for it has been completely exposed.

11. In the most developed capitalist country of the European continent, in Germany, the first months of complete republican freedom, secured by the overthrow of imperialist Germany, showed to the German workmen and to the whole world the actual class character of a bourgeois-democratic republic. The murder of Karl Liebnecht and Rosa Luxemburg are events of world importance, not only because the best people and the leaders of the truly democratic, communist International perished, but because for the leading European—and one can say without exaggeration for the leading world—State the essentially class character of its order was made clear. If people who have been arrested, that is, taken under protection by the State authority, can be killed by officers and capitalists with impunity under a government of patriots-socialists, then a democratic republic, in which such a thing was possible, is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. People who express their indignation over the murder of Karl Liebnecht and Rosa Luxemburg, but do not understand

this truth reveal, then, either their stupidity or their hypocrisy. "Freedom" in one of the freest and most progressive republics of the world, in the German Republic, is freedom to kill the arrested leaders of the proletariat with impunity. And it could not be otherwise, so long as capitalism maintains itself, for the development of democratism does not moderate but encourages class struggle, which, by reason of all the results and influences of the war and of its consequences, has been brought to the boiling point.

In the whole civilized world Bolsheviks are now being exiled, persecuted, imprisoned, as, for example, in one of the oldest bourgeois republics—Switzerland; pogroms against the Bolsheviks are taking place in America, etc. From the point of view of democracy in general or of pure democracy, it is really laughable to see how the leading civilized democratic countries, armed to the teeth, fear the presence of a few dozen people from backward, hungry, ruined Russia, which the bourgeois papers in tens of millions of copies call barbarian, criminal, etc. It is clear that an order of society which can produce such a great contradiction is in fact a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

12. In the presence of such a situation a dictatorship of the proletariat is not only absolutely legal, just as are the overthrow of exploiters and the suppression of their resistance, but it is also absolutely necessary for the whole mass of toilers as the only defense against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which brought about the war and is preparing new wars.

That which the socialists do not understand, which constitutes their theoretic nearsightedness, their submission to bourgeois prejudices and their political treason with respect to the proletariat, is the following: In a political society wherever there is any serious sharpening of class struggle which is included in its very structure, there can be no middle course between dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat. Any fanciful dreaming about some sort of third line is a reactionary lamentation of the petty bourgeois. Evidence of this is the experience of long development of bourgeois democracy and of the workmen's movement in all leading countries and in particular the experience of the last five years. Also the science of political economy speaks of this, as does the entire content of Marxism, which explains the economic inevitableness, under any economic system based on trade, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which can be changed only by a class that has devloped, increased in numbers and become stronger internally by organization and also as a result of the development of capitalism, that is the class of the proletarians.

13. Another theoretic and political mistake of socialists consists in their failure to understand that the forms of democracy must necessarily change in the course of centuries, beginning from ancient times, as one ruling class is replaced by another. In the ancient republics of Greece, in the cities of the Middle Ages, in the late capitalist countries, democracy has different forms and is applied in different degrees. It would be the greatest absurdity to think that the most profound revolution in the history of humanity, where for the first time in the world, power has passed from a minority of exploiters to the majority of the exploited, would take place within the old framework of the old bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, and without the most radical ruptures and the creation of new forms of democracy, of new institutions, representing new methods of applying democracy, etc.

14. Dictatorship of the proletariat resembles dictatorship of other classes in that it was called forth by the need to suppress the forcible resistance of a class that was losing its political rulership. But that which definitely distinguishes a dictatorship of the proletariat from a dictatorship of other classes, from a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all the civilized capitalist countries, is that the dictatorship of the landlords and of the bourgeoisie was the forcible suppression of the resistance of the overwhelming majority of the population, namely, the toilers. On the other hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the forcible suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, that is, of an insignificant minority of the population—of landlords and capitalists.

It therefore follows that a dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily carry with it not only changes in the form and institutions of democracy, speaking in general terms, but specifically such a change as would secure an extension such as has never been seen in the history of the world of the actual use of democratism by the toiling classes.

And in actual fact the form of dictatorship of the proletariat which has already been worked out in practice, that is, the Soviet authority in Russia, the Räte system in Germany, the shop stewards committees, and other similar Soviet institutions in other countries, all represent and realize for the toiling classes, that is, for the overwhelming majority of the population, this actual possibility to use democratic rights and freedoms, which possibility never existed, even approximately, in the very best and most democratic bourgeois republics.

The essence of the Soviet authority consists in this, that the permanent and sole basis of all State authority, of the entire apparatus of government, is the mass organization precisely of those classes which were oppressed by capitalism, that is, of the workmen and of the half-proletarians (peasants who did not exploit the labor of another and constantly had to sell at least a portion of their labor strength). Precisely those masses which even in the most democratic bourgeois republics had equal rights before the law but in fact were deprived of participation in the political life of the country, and by thousands of tricks and traps of the use of democratic rights and liberties, are now brought into constant and actual, and, in addition, decisive, participation in the democratic administration of the State.

15. Equality of citizenship, independent of sex, religion, race and nationality, which bourgeois democracy always and everywhere promised but never introduced, and could not introduce because of the rule of capitalism, has been realized immediately and completely by the Soviet authority or the dictatorship of the proletariat, because only the power of workmen who are not interested in the private ownership of the means of production, and in the struggle for the distribution and dividing up of these means, is in a position to give such equality.

16. The old, that is the bourgeois, democracy, and parliamentarism were so organized that the masses of the toilers were for the most part prevented from penetrating the institutions of administration. The Soviet authority, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other hand is so organized as to bring the masses of toilers into close contact

with the institutions of administration. To this end the legislative and executive authorities have been brought together under the Soviet organization of the State, and territorial election districts have been replaced by economic units, such as factories and mills.

17. The army was a weapon of oppression, not only in monarchies; it remains such in all bourgeois republics, even in the most democratic. Only the Soviet authority, which is the governmental organization precisely of the classes oppressed by capitalism, is able to destroy the subjection of the army to bourgeois orders, and thus actually unify the proletariat and the army, actually bringing about the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, without which socialism can not be triumphant.

18. The Soviet organization of the State has been so adapted as to give the leading rôle to the proletariat, because the latter is the class that has been most concentrated and enlightened by capitalism. The experience of all revolutions and of all movements of the oppressed classes, and the experience of the world socialist movement, teach us that only the proletariat is able to unite and carry with it the scattered and retrograde classes of the toiling and exploited population.

19. Only a Soviet organization of the State is able actually to disrupt without delay, and destroy definitively, the old apparatus of government, of the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy and law courts. This apparatus was preserved and had to be preserved under the capitalistic order of society even in the most democratic republics, because in fact it was the main protection against the introduction of democratism for workmen and toilers. The Paris Commune made the first world-historic step along this road; the Soviet authority, the second.

20. The destruction of State authority is the aim which all socialists have set for themselves, Marx included and at the head; without the realization of this aim true democratism, that is, equality and liberty, cannot be realized. This aim can be realized in actual fact only by a Soviet or proletarian democracy, for by bringing into constant and actual participation in the administration of the State the mass organizations of the toilers, it begins immediately to prepare for the complete decay of any State.

21. The complete bankruptcy of the socialists who gathered in Berne and their complete failure to understand the new, that is, the proletarian democracy, are seen especially in the following: On February 10, 1919, Branting opened in Berne an international conference of the yellow International. On February 11, 1919, in Berlin, in the newspaper of the supporters of this conference, Die Frôhe, was published an appeal of the party of "The Independents" to the proletariat. In this appeal the bourgeoise character of the government of Scheidemann was acknowledged, and this government was reproached for wishing to abolish the Soviets, which were called the "Träger und Schützer der Revolution", the standard bearers of the revolution; and it was proposed that the Soviets be legalized, given governmental functions and the right to suspend the decisions of the Constituent Assembly through a referendum based on universal suffrage. This proposal represents the complete bankruptcy of the theorists who have defined democracy without understanding its bourgeois character. This ludicrous attempt to unite the system of Soviets, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the Constituent Assembly, that is, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, reveals definitively the deformed mentality of the yellow Socialists and Social-Democrats, their political reactionary tendencies similar to those of the petty bourgeoisie, and their cowardly concessions to the irresistible, growing strength of the new proletarian democracy.

22. In condemning Bolshevism, the majority of the yellow International of Berne, which did not have the courage formally to vote a resolution to this effect because of their fear of the workmen masses, acted from a class point of view, for this majority is in complete solidarity with the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, and with the Scheidemanns in Germany. The Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, complaining that they are prosecuted by the Bolsheviks, try to conceal the fact that they are being prosecuted because of participation in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. In the same manner the Scheidemanns and their parties have already shown in Germany that they also are participating in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie against the workmen. It is therefore quite natural that the majority of those who took part in the Berne yellow International came out in condemnation of the Bolsheviks. But this was not defense of "pure democracy," but self-defense of people who know and feel that in the civil war they stand on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Therefore, from the class point of view one must recognize the correctness of the decision of the majority of the yellow International. The proletariat, not fearing the truth, should look the truth straight in the face and draw the logical political conclusions.

III. Attitude of Proletariat to Middle Peasantry.

Lenin's report to eighth congress of Russian Communist party (extracts).

[Petrograd Pravda, Apr. 5, 1919.]

It is quite clear that the following question is fundamental, very complicated, but no less vital: How to define exactly the attitude of the proletariat to the middle peasantry. Comrades, for Marxists this question does not present difficulties from the theoretical point of view, which the overwhelming majority of workmen have now acquired. I recall for example that in Kautsky's book on the agrarian question written when Kautsky still correctly presented the teachings of Marx and was recognized as an unquestioned authority in this field, in this book on the agrarian question he speaks of the passing from capitalism to socialism:

"The task of the socialist party is the neutralization of the peasantry; that is, to handle the situation so that the peasantry remains neutral in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that the peasantry does not give any

active assistance to the bourgeoisie against us." During the long period of the bourgeois rule the peasant has always supported the bourgeois authority and was on the side of the bourgeoisie. This is understandable if one takes into account the economic strength of the bourgoisie and the political methods of its rule. We can not expect the middle peasant to come over to our side immediately. But if we direct our policy correctly, then after a certain period hesitation will cease and the peasant may come over to our side. Engels, who, together with Marx, laid the foundations of scientific Marxism, that is, of the doctrine which our party follows constantly and particularly in time of revolution—Engels already established the fact that the peasantry is differentiated with respect to their land holdings into small, middle, and large; and this differentiation for the overwhelming majority of the European countries exists to-day. Engels said: "Perhaps it will not be necessary to suppress by force even the large peasantry in all places." And no sensible socialist ever thought that we might ever apply violence to the middle peasantry (the smaller peasantry is our friend). This is what Engels said in 1894, a year before his death, when the agrarian question was the burning question of the day. This point of view shows us that truth which is sometimes forgotten, though with which we have always theoretically been in accord. With respect to landlords and capitalists our task is complete expropriation. But we do not permit any violence with respect to the middle peasant. Even with respect to the rich peasant we do not speak with the same determination as with regard to the bourgeoisie: "Absolute expropriation of the rich peasantry." In our program this difference is emphasized. We say: "The suppression of the resistance of the peasantry, the suppression of its counter-revolutionary tendencies." This is not complete expropriation.

The fundamental difference in our attitude toward the bourgeoisie and toward the middle peasantry is complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie, but union with the middle peasantry that does not exploit others. This fundamental line in theory is recognized by all. In practice this line is not always observed strictly, and local workers have not learned to observe it at all. When the proletariat overthrew the bourgeois authority and established its own, and set about to create a new society, the question of the middle peasantry came into the foreground. Not a single socialist in the world has denied the fact that the establishment of communism will proceed differently in those countries where there is large land tenure. This is the most elementary of truths and from this truth it follows that as we approach the tasks of construction our main attention should be concentrated to a certain extent precisely on the middle peasantry. Much will depend on how we have defined our attitude toward the middle peasantry. Theoretically, this question has been decided, but we know from our own experience the difference between the theoretical decision of a question and the practical carrying out of the decision. We have come to that difference which was so characteristic of the old French revolution when the French Convention made wide plans but did not have the proper support to carry them out and did not even know on what class it should rely in order to put through this or that measure. We find ourselves in a much more favorable condition. Thanks to a whole century of development we know on what class we rely and we know also that this class has had a quite inadequate amount of practical experience. The fundamental thing for the working class, and for the socialist party, was clear—to overthrow the authority of the bourgeoisie and turn over authority to the workmen.

But how to accomplish this? All remember with what difficulty, and after how many months we passed from workmen's control to workmen's adminstration of industry, and that was development within our class, within the proletarian class, with which we had always had relations. But now we must define our attitude toward a new class, toward a class which the city workmen do not know. We must define our attitude toward a class which does not have a definite steadfast position. The proletariat as a mass is for socialism; the bourgeoisie is against socialism; it is easy to define the relations between two such classes. But when we come to such a group as the middle peasantry, then it appears that this is such a kind of class that it hesitates. The middle peasant is part property owner and part toiler. He does not exploit other representatives of the toilers. For decades he has had to struggle hard to maintain his position and he has felt the exploitation of the landlord-capitalists. But at the same time he is a property owner.

Therefore our attitude toward this class presents enormous difficulties. On the basis of our experience of more than a year and of proletariat work in the village for more than a year and in view of the fact that there has already taken place a class differentiation in the village, we must be most careful not to be hasty, not to theorize without understanding, not to consider ready what has not been worked out. In the resolution which the committee proposes to you, prepared by the agrarian section, which one of the next speakers will read to you, you will find many warnings on this point. From the economic point of view it is clear that we must go to the assistance of the middle peasant. On this point theoretically there is no doubt. But with our level of culture, with our lack of cultural and technical forces which we could offer to the village, and with that helplessness with which we often go to the villages, comrades often apply compulsion, which spoils the whole cause. Only yesterday one comrade gave me a small pamphlet entitled "Instructions for party activity in the Province of Nizhnenovgorod," a publication of the Nizhnenovgorod Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and in this pamphlet I read, for example, on page 41: "The decree on the extraordinary revolutionary tax should fall with its whole weight on the shoulders of the village rich peasant speculators, and in general on the middle elements of the peasantry." Now here one may see that people have indeed "understood," or is this a misprint? But it is not admissible for such misprints to appear. Or is this the result of hurried, hasty work, which shows how dangerous haste is in a matter like this? Or have we here simply a failure to understand, though this is the very worst supposition which I really do not wish to make with reference to our comrades at Nizhnenovgorod? It is quite possible that this is simply an oversight. Such instances occur in practice, as one of the comrades in the commission has related. The peasants surrounded him and each peasant asked: "Please define, am I a middle peasant or not? I have two horses and one cow. I have two cows and one horse," etc. And so this agitator who was traveling over entire districts had to use a kind of thermometer in order to take each peasant and tell

him whether he was a middle peasant or not. But to do this he had to know the whole history and economic life of this particular peasant and his relations to lower and higher groups, and of course we can not know this with exactness.

Here one must have practical experience and knowledge of local conditions, and we have not these things as yet. We are not at all ashamed to admit this; we must admit this openly. We have never been utopists and have never imagined that we could build up the communistic society with the pure hands of pure communists who would be born and educated in a pure communistic society. Such would be children's fables. We must build communism on the ruins of capitalism, and only that class which has been tempered in the struggle against capitalism can do this. You know very well that the proletariat is not without the faults and weaknesses of the capitalistic society. It struggles for socialism, and at the same time against its own defects. The best and most progressive portion of the proletariat which has been carrying on a desperate struggle in the cities for decades was able to imitate in the course of this struggle all the culture of city life, and to a certain extent did acquire it. You know that the village even in the most progressive countries was condemned to ignorance. Of course the cultural level of the village will be raised by us, but that is a matter of years and years. This is what our comrades everywhere forget, and this is what every word that comes to us from the villages portrays with particular clearness, when the word comes not from local intellectuals and local officials but from people who are watching the work in the village from a practical point of view. All these voices are of special value to us in the agrarian section. These voices will be of particular value at the present moment, I am convinced of this, and for this party congress inasmuch as they are taken not from books, not from decrees, but from life itself.

This is what impels us to work in this spirit, in order to make more clear our relations to the middle peasantry. This is very difficult because in life we do not have this clarity. This question not only is not solved but it can not be solved if one wishes to solve it at a stroke and immediately. There are people who say: "It was not necessary to write such a quantity of decrees," and they criticise the Soviet government because it gave attention to the writing of decrees without knowing how to carry them out in actual life. These people do not see how they are really galloping over to the White-Guardists. If we had expected that the whole life of the village could be changed by the writing of thousands of decrees we certainly would have been complete idiots; but if we had failed to indicate the road in decrees we would have been traitors to socialism. These decrees which in actual practice could not be carried out immediately and fully have played an enormous rôle for propaganda. If at first we carried on a propaganda by general truths, now we are carrying on a propaganda by actual work. This also is preaching, but it is preaching by acts, and not in the sense of independent acts of certain upstarts at whom we used to laugh in the period of anarchists and the old socialism. Our decree is an appeal, but not an appeal in the former spirit: "Workmen, rise, overthrow the bourgeoisie." No, it is an appeal to the masses, an appeal for practical action. The decrees are instructions calling for mass action of a practical character. This is what is important. It does not matter that in these decrees there is much that is worth nothing, much that will not be realized. The aim of a decree is to teach practical methods, to those hundreds, thousands and millions of people who listen to the voice of the Soviet authority. This is the test of practical action in the field of socialist construction in the villages. If we shall take this view, then we shall derive very much from the total sum of our laws, decrees and ordinances. We shall not look upon them as absolute norms which must be carried out at any cost, immediately and at one stroke.

(At another session of the congress Lenin spoke on the same subject. From Petrograd Pravda, Apr. 9, 1919.)

We have solved so far only the first fundamental task of the socialist revolution, the task of victory over the bourgeoisie. We have solved this task in a fundamental manner although now begins a dangerously difficult half year, during which the imperialists of the whole world are making the last efforts to suppress us. We can say now without exaggeration that they themselves have understood that after this next half year their cause will be absolutely suppressed. Either they must now take advantage of our exhaustion and conquer one country, namely Russia, or we will be the victors, and not only with reference to our own country. During this half year, when the food supply and transportation crises have become more acute and the imperialistic powers are trying to attack on several fronts, our position is extremely difficult, but this is the last difficult half year. One must as before concentrate all efforts on the struggle with the foreign enemy who is attacking us.

When we speak of the tasks in connection with work in the villages, in spite of all difficulties, in spite of the fact that our knowledge has been directed to the immediate suppression of exploiters, we must nevertheless remember and not forget, that in the villages with relation to the middle peasantry the task is of a different nature. All conscious workmen, of Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Moscow, who have been in the villages, tell us of instances of many misunderstandings, of misunderstandings that could not be solved it seemed, and of conflicts of the most serious nature, all of which were, however, solved by sensible workmen who did not speak according to the book but in language which the people could understand, and not like an officer allowing himself to issue orders though unacquainted with village life, but like a comrade explaining the situation and appealing to their feelings as toilers. And by such explanation one attained what could not be attained by thousands who conducted themselves like commanders or superiors.

The resolution which we now present for your attention is drawn up in this spirit. I have tried in this report to emphasize the main principles behind this resolution, and its general political significance. I have tried to show, and I trust I have succeeded, that from the point of view of the interests of the revolution as a whole, we have not made any changes. We have not altered our line of action. The White-Guardists and their assistants shout and will continue to shout that we have changed. Let them shout. That does not disturb us. We are developing our aims in an absolutely logical manner. From the task of suppressing the bourgeoisie we must now transfer our attention to the task of building up the life of the middle peasantry. We must live with the middle peasantry in peace. The middle

peasantry in a communistic society will be on our side only if we lighten and improve its economic conditions. If we to-morrow could furnish a hundred thousand first-class tractors supplied with gasoline and machinists (you know of course that for the moment this is dreaming) then the middle peasant would say: "I am for the Commune." But in order to do this we must first defeat the international bourgeoisie, we must force them to give us these tractors, or we must increase our own production so that we can ourselves produce them. Only thus is the question stated correctly.

The peasant needs the industries of the cities and can not live without them and the industries are in our hands. If we approach the situation correctly then the peasant will thank us because we will bring him the products from the cities, implements and culture. It will not be exploiters who will bring him these things, not landlords, but his own comrades, workers whom he values very deeply. The middle peasant is very practical and values only actual assistance, quite carelessly thrusting aside all commands and instructions from above.

First help him and then you will secure his confidence. If this matter is handled correctly, if each step taken by our group in the village, in the canton, in the food-supply detachment, or in any organization, is carefully made, is carefully verified from this point of view, then we shall win the confidence of the peasant, and only then shall we be able to move forward. Now we must give him assistance. We must give him advice and this must not be the order of a commanding officer, but the advice of a comrade. The peasant then will be absolutely for us.

And this is what our resolution contains, and this is what it seems to me should be the decision of the congress. If we accept this resolution and if it defines all the activity of our party organizations, then we shall solve the second great task that is before us. We learned how to overthrow the bourgeoisie and suppress it and we are very proud of what we have done. We have not yet learned how to regulate our relations with the millions of middle peasants and how to win their confidence. We must say this frankly; but wo have understood the task and we have undertaken it and we say to ourselves with full hope, complete knowledge and entire decision: We shall solve this task and then socialism will be absolute, invincible.

IV.

Speech by Kalinin, President of All-Russian Central Executive Committee, on the Middle Peasantry.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Apr. 10, 1919.]

Moscow, April 9 (Rosta).—At a plenum meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Workmen's and Red Army Deputies, the president of the Central Executive Committee, Comrade Kalinin, spoke:

"My election is the symbol of the union of the proletariat and the peasantry. At the present moment when all counter-revolutionary forces are pressing in on us, such a union is particularly valuable. The peasantry was always our natural ally, but in recent times one has heard notes of doubt among the peasants; parties hostile to us are trying to drive a wedge between us and the peasantry. We must convince the middle peasants that the working class, having in its hands the factories, has not attacked and will not attack the small, individual farms of the peasant. This can be done all the more easily because neither the old nor the new program of communists says that we will forcibly centralize the peasant lands and drive them into communes, etc. Quite to the contrary, we say definitely that we will make every effort to readjust and raise the level of the peasant economic enterprises, helping both technically and in other ways, and I shall adhere to this policy in my new post. Hero is the policy we shall follow:

"We shall point out to province, district, and other executive committees that they should make every effort in the course of the collecting of the revolutionary tax, to the end that it should not be a heavy burden on the middle peasant; that they should make self-administration less costly and reduce bureaucratic routine. We shall make every effort so that the local executive committees shall not put obstacles in the way of exchange of articles of agriculture and of home consumption between cantons and peasants—that is, the purchase of farm and household utensils that are sold at fairs. We shall try to eliminate all friction and misunderstandings between provinces and cantons. We shall appeal to the local executive committees not only not to interfere with, but on the contrary to support, separate peasant economic enterprises which because of their special character have a special value. The mole of history is working well for us; the hour of world revolution is near, though we must not close our eyes to the fact that at the present moment it is all the more difficult for us to struggle with counter-revolution because of the disorganization of our economic life. Frequently they prophesied our failure, but we still hold on and we shall find new sources of strength and support. Further, each one of us must answer the question as to how to adjust production, carry out our enormous tasks, and use our great natural resources. In this field the unions of Petersburg and Moscow are doing very much, because they are the organizing centers from whose examples the provinces will learn. Much has been done in preparing products, but much still has to be done. We in Petersburg fed ourselves for three months, from the end of Juno to the beginning of September, on products from our Petersburg gardens."

Comrade Kalinin taking this matter of the gardens as an example, explains how one must approach the problem in a practical manner:

"We must define the relations between the Supreme Council of National Economy and local economic enterprises, and I am sure the Moscow Soviet will do everything in its power for the preparation of food products. The stronger we are the greater are the chances of a Western European revolution."

V.

Telephonogram of President of the Soviet of Defense, Comrade Lenin, to the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

[Izvestia, Apr. 2, 1919.]

According to a communication from the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, word has been received from Petrograd that agents of Kolchak, Denikin, and the Allies tried to blow up the water-supply station in Petrograd. In the cellar were found explosives and an infernal machine; when the latter was taken it exploded prematurely, and the commander of the detachment was killed and four members of the Red Army were wounded.

At other points attempts are being made to blow up bridges and stop railway transportation.

Attempts are being made to blow up railway roadbeds in order to leave Moscow and Petrograd without food supply.

Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks take an active part in appeals for strikes for the overthrow of the Soviet authority.

In view of the information received, the Soviet of Defense orders that the most urgent measures be taken to suppress all attempts to cause explosions, to destroy railways, and all appeals for strikes.

The Soviet of Defense calls on all workers in the Extraordinary Commission to be especially watchful, and to report to the Soviet of Defense all measures adopted.

(Signed) V. Ulianov (Lenin),
President of Soviet of Defense.

VI.

Extraordinary Commission—Activities.

[From column "Latest news" in Izvestia, Sept. 5, 1918.]

ARREST OF RIGHT SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES.

At the present moment the ward extraordinary commissioners are making mass arrests of Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, since it has become clear that this party is responsible for the recent acts of terrorism (attempt on life of Comrade Lenin and the murder of Uritsky), which were carried out according to a definitely elaborated program.

ARREST OF A PRIEST.

For an anti-Soviet sermon preached from the church pulpit, the Priest Molot has been arrested and turned over to the counter-revolutionary section of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES.

We have received the following telegram from the president of the Front Extraordinary Commission, Comrade Latsis: "The Extraordinary Commission of the front had shot in the district of Ardatov, for anti-Soviet agitation, 4 peasants, and sent to a concentration camp 32 officers.

At Arzamas were shot three champions of the Tsarist régime and one peasant-exploiter, and 14 officers were sent to the concentration camp for anti-Soviet agitation."

HOUSE COMMITTEE FINED.

For failure to execute the orders of the dwelling section of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, the house committee at 42, Pokrovka, has been fined 20,000 rubles.

This fine is a punishment for failure to remove from the house register the name of the well-known Cadet Astrov, who disappeared three months ago.

All the movable property of Astrov has been confiscated.

THE ARREST OF SPECULATORS.

On September 3 members of the Section to Combat Speculation of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission arrested Citizen Pitkevich, who was trying to buy 125 food cards, at 20 rubles each. A search was made in the apartment of Pitkevich, which revealed a store of such cards bearing official stamps.

This section also arrested a certain Bosh, who was speculating in cocaine brought from Pskov.

VII.

Description of Extraordinary Commission.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Oct. 17, 1918.]

Comrade Morosov has pointed out the importance of the Extraordinary Commission, an organ of the class to conduct civil war, established in view of necessity, and before all in order to beat down the strikes of the civil officials. The first manifestation of the committee has been the liquidation of the union of the "salvation of the revolution." Then

the commission annihilated the union of the civil officials who subsidized the committees of the strikes. The newspaper, Den, had special funds for this purpose. The commission has also abolished a staff office which was recruiting men for the army of the Don. Then came the turn of the "Union of the Constituent Assembly," which organized universities for soldiers, which were really centers of preparation for civil war. A large quantity of arms was found in these universities. The "Military League" was then formed, where men for Kaledin were recruited and the assassination of the commissaries of the people were prepared. The commission has overthrown this league and also a monarchist league called "The White Cross."

The commission has also fought against speculation; fines and requisitions have been increased.

At Moscow, the commission has liquidated the "Union of Proprietors." the plot of Burri, an American, who has been getting ready to monopolize the Soviets, and lastly the affair of Lockhart. The commission has registered 2,559 contra-revolutionary affairs and 5,000 arrests have been made.

The comrade Bokki declares that since the departure of the commission from Moscow 5,423 affairs have been registered, 2,817 of which have been terminated. A number of the guilty have already been shot. There is a lack of judges. Each judge has not less than 100 cases. The total number of people arrested is 6. 229. The total number of people shot is 800.

From August 15 to October 15, 1918, 1,101 cases have been examined, 564 of which have been classified. The most important are those of the Chamber of Public Vengeance, the "Union for the Liberation of the Country," and the recruiting of the White Guard. The case of the assassination of Uritsky and the English plot have not yet been terminated. Among the pending cases are pointed out the transport of weapons to the German embassy under the mask of diplomatic documents. One of the cases fell, and Mausers fell out of it. Nine cases of the same sort have been confiscated.

The cases of speculation have led to a confiscation of 20,000,000 rubles.

At Kronstadt there have been 1,130 hostages. Only 183 people are left; 500 have been shot. Four hundred and eighty-nine affairs of counter-revolutionists have been examined and 236 concerning speculations.

VIII.

Peters' Proclamation "To Citizens of Petrograd and Environs."

[Izvestia of Petrograd Soviet, July 4, 1919.]

Mass searches recently conducted with the direct participation of the Petrograd proletariat, and also the voluntary giving up of arms in accordance with the order of June 24, 1919, No. 961, have shown that a large quantity of various kinds of arms and military equipment have been illegally kept by the population, mainly by the more prosperous strata of the population.

However, the result of the mass and individual searches that still continue, and the turning in of the arms show that not all of the arms have been given up.

Workmen and workwomen of Petrograd: You are standing firm in defense of the revolution, and of its red capital. See to it that not a single rifle, not a single cartridge, remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Search the cellars, attics, sheds, living quarters, and all places, and do not allow them to bury arms in the ground.

If you discover the concealment of arms, revolvers, cartridges, bombs—anything that would be of use to the enemies in their attack on us, report the fact immediately to the chief of internal defense. Those guilty of concealing arms will suffer the most severe ponalty.

See to it that arms and other military supplies do not lie around without proper guard and careful inventory, because of the carelessness of some one.

All persons and institutions in charge of the registering of various stores, must carefully examine the latter, and communicate immediately if they find among them arms or objects of military equipment. They will be turned over to the Revolutionary court if they conceal these, or overlook them.

House committees are responsible as formerly for arms found in their houses, and will be subjected to the most severe punishment for failure to carry out this order. Searches will continue until the rear of our Red Army and of the Petrograd proletariat has been absolutely made safe.

We are firmly resolved to carry out to the end the business we have started.

At the same time, in order to meet the weak-spirited and those who do not read orders carefully, I now for the last time fix the time limit for the voluntary giving up of arms. Whoever will voluntarily give up arms between the day of publication of this order and Tuesday the 8th of July, is guaranteed, as on previous occasions, complete security. There will be no quarter for those who do not take advantage of this last postponement.

Failure to carry out this order will this time be regarded by me as a deliberate counter-revolutionary ignoring of the ordinances of the Soviet authority, and will call forth a corresponding attitude on my part.

The workmen of Petrograd, finally, will be able by entering the revolutionary reserve regiments of the defense, to arm themselves for self-defense against the White-Guard bands, and for the struggle against the latter in all directions.

Peters,
Chief of the Internal Defense of Petrograd.

IX.

Article on Food Cards by Classes. (Extracts)

[Izvestia, Sept. 11, 1918.]

The card system has been in existence almost from the very first days of the war, but a class card system is being introduced for the first time. As an experiment, this distribution by classes of food supplies was tried first in the Petrograd commune. This was only an experiment, a beginning, but now such a class distribution must be introduced as a general system. "What is this class card system?" The title speaks for itself. It is the distribution of all foodstuffs according to classes of which our present society is composed. * * *

According to the project prepared and already adopted and confirmed, the whole population is divided into four groups and the receiving of its class share of the articles of food is expressed for each group by the following percentages:

Group I	200
Group II	150
Group III	100
Group IV	50

Let us take the third group that receives 100 per cent as the basis for reckoning. In this group are included persons occupied in light physical labor and also persons doing mental work whose work takes place in definitely normal conditions with a normal expenditure of physical and muscular energy. * * *

The fourth group is to receive only 50 per cent.

It is no secret to anyone that the persons of the fourth group are for the most part parasitic elements who do not expend any physical energy and do not do any work useful to the community.

The introduction of such a class system of feeding is dictated by sheer necessity resulting from the absence of reserves of supplies and the difficulties in organizing the distribution of supplies. But I believe that such a system of distribution should be the permanent and general principle in our socialistic country, which is gradually gaining strength.

In conclusion I believe that it would be very desirable if comrades among the workmen would comment on this article of mine, and would try to send in their remarks and express their view with regard to this dividing up of the population into groups, and the class food-card system in general, although the question of introducing the latter has already been decided and the first steps will be taken within the next days.

X.

Food Supply by Classes.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Oct. 20, 1918.]

Scholars and professors have been transferred from the second to the first alimentary category, and have the right to keep their laboratories and studies, as well as the living rooms which are allowed them under the decree concerning apartments. The actors of the State theaters are also classed in the first category. During the days of the celebration of the anniversary of the revolution the rations will be considerably increased; first category receives meat and 1½ pounds of bread; even the fourth will receive one-half pound of bread and 3 pounds of potatoes.

XI.

Bulletin from the Commissariat of Food Supplies.

[Petrograd Pravda, Apr. 9, 1919.]

The commissariat of supplies informs the population that in connection with the coming world-proletarian holiday of May 1 there will be issued: One-half pound of wheat bread instead of rye to the first and second categories; one-eighth pound to the third category.

One-half pound of wheat bread will be issued on labor cards, irrespective of the amount of work done, on the April 30 coupon, together with the bread that would be issued for work done April 30.

In addition, on the account of the first half of the month of May, the following products will be issued:

To first and second categories:
- Sugar, 1 pound.
- Fats, ½ pound.
- Fish, 1 pound.
- Herring, 2 pounds.
- Salt, 1 pound.

To third category:
- Sugar, ½ pound.
- Fish, ½ pound.
- Herring, 1 pound.
- Salt, ½ pound.

Children, pupils in schools, hospitals, asylums, and similar institutions will receive also white bread instead of black for May 1, according to the norms established.

XII.

Report of American Representative, from Finland, June 25, 1919.

The fall of Bolshevism, which seemed inevitable even two months ago, has created the wildest terrorism. People are executed without trial in masses on mere suspicion of sympathy with the Soviet's enemies. Agitation is growing abroad, created chiefly by Russian Jews and others who are interested in a prolongation of the Bolshevist régime and against the aims of Generals Kolchak, Yudenich, and Denikin, who are denounced as representing the supporters of tsarism. The attempt is made also to convince foreigners that improvements are going on in Soviet Russia, with an ardor which would seem to indicate the hopelessness of the situation.

Some American journalists, received and well treated by the Bolsheviks, also have reported favorably. The Russians who are opposed to the Soviet Government naturally believe these to be bribed. I think this unlikely. I have seen a number of them and it is my belief that their conclusions are due rather to prepossessed ideas and to ignorance of real conditions and unfamiliarity with the language.

It is my own strong conviction that even the dark elements are by now disillusioned. The bulk of the workmen and the peasants, to whom so much has been promised, are disgusted. The increasing support which the Bolsheviks found in 1917 has gradually disappeared. Reliable opinion counts not more than 160,000 Communists by conviction, and these are mostly young workmen.

Terror and necessity compel work for the Soviet Government, but this work is much encumbered by theory, inexperience, and corruption. The continued existence of Soviet Russia is largely due to enormous stocks accumulated during the war. Even now colossal quantities of cotton goods exist, which they do not know how to distribute. This inability to produce any practical achievements has resulted, politically, in an outspoken change. The idea of a great Russian Republic has faded and the general wish is rather for a strong constitutional monarchy.

The peasants I have recently seen deny emphatically the existence of support (for the Bolsheviks) in the villages, stating that the few Communists to be found in some villages are known to be loafers.

It is my opinion that not 1 per cent of Soviet Russia's population will be against intervention from whichever side it may come; Kolchak or any other power will be welcomed. There will be a slaughtering of Bolsheviks as soon as the deliverers are near the centers and the Red Terror ceases to be feared, but terror, hunger, and disease have temporarily created apathy.

Finland loathes Bolshevism, fears a Tsar Government, but wishes to be on good terms with a new strong Russia. I believe the same applies to the Baltic Provinces.

As to the Tartars of Siberia and Kazan I have not the slightest doubt that these (about 16,000,000 Mohammedans) will as a whole side with Kolchak against the Bolsheviks. This is confirmed by their representative, Mr. S. Maksoudov, now in Paris, who personally gave me his report of March 25, which was cabled in full to Paris.

Many Russian Jews have by their activity with the Bolsheviks strongly conpromised that section of the population and "pogroms" of great magnitude, I fear, are to be anticipated.

The strength of the Bolsheviks lies in their organization. Terror, combined with most elaborate espionage at home and propaganda in and behind the ranks of the enemy, make them still a formidable force.

XIII.

Report of American Representative of Statements from a Personal Friend Who Had Escaped from Soviet Russia, of July 2, 1919.

Terror is daily increasing and people are shot not only for agitation against the Soviet Government or for any other accusation; the nonbelonging to the Soviet service or relatives being abroad or the possibility of intending to join a new government are sufficient reasons for execution. For instance: Bakharev was shot because he was not serving the Soviet and his wife had gone abroad. He was a young officer who lived in Chernigov with the parents of his wife and his mother went to Moscow. When in August, 1918, all officers had to be registered, he could not appear, living in the Ukraine. His old mother was then arrested in Moscow. Hearing this he managed to go to Moscow and see the commandant. He was immediately arrested and his mother remained one and one-half months longer in prison. The judgment against Bakharev was the following: "Is not in Soviet service, lived in the Ukraine, appeared only after arrest of his mother. To be considered a White-Guardist and to be shot." The cook serving at the Extraordinary Commission, where Bakharev and many thousands have been shot, related afterwards that serious differences arose between the so-called "commissaries of death" as to whom Bakharev's clothes should belong. Bakharev was very well dressed, and it is usual that what the delinquent wears belongs to the commissary of death carrying out the sentence. When Bakharev was brought to the room of "souls" where prisoners were taken for final questions and for taking away of any valuables, the commissaries of death, noticing his fine clothes, began to quarrel as to who should execute. After long disputes and quarreling they decided to toss; the winner then hastened to carry out the sentence on this unfortunate Bakharev.

The officer Kamensky was executed on the supposition of the commissary that he was expecting a change of Government to which he might be useful; and people dangerous to the Soviet power must be shot.

Beginning from the middle of April terror increased, people were shot on suspicion of being in sympathy with Kolchak or the Allies. After the decree of Lenin concerning the cleaning out of all counter-revolutionists in the rear, on account of the danger from Kolchak and others, besides executions, many have been taken as hostages. The names of only a small percentage of those shot are published. When I was two and one-half months in prison at the Extraordinary Commission I had occasion to notice that of 36 shot 7 names were published, and another time of 58 persons 11; on other instances (executions are going on nearly every night) either the names are not published at all or only very few, and the names of thieves and other criminals are always mentioned.

Many people were shot by mistake, especially in August and September, 1918. Officer A. Leite, who was in prison from July, 1918, till February, 1919, told me that from the day of the attempt on Lenin's life 80 to 100 persons were shot daily, of which on an average 60 per cent were officers and former policemen, 20 per cent bourgeois, and 20 per cent workmen belonging to the Right Socialist-Revolutionary or to the Menshevist Party. Mistakes were made due to the arrests of persons having the same name, not much attention being given to the first names. Often men were shot at night and called up for judgment or release the following day. For belonging to the Socialist-Revolutionaries the president of the Trade Union of Workmen in Smolensk was arrested and shot. But his trial was the next morning. When called up the chief jailer declared that prisoner was sent to the "staff of souls."

In the house where I lived a man called Lvov died of smallpox. His corpse was sent to the cemetery and remained there with several hundred others, unburied for three weeks, although the widow asked several times to be allowed to inter her husband. It was refused and all were buried in one big grave.

A workman, Polianker, receiving 800 rubles a month, was not able to supply his family with sufficient food. His wife was unable to work and had to look after the children. Friends helped with 200 to 500 rubles a month; still they remained hungry. He could not stand to see their sufferings and killed them all and himself.

The administrator of my houses received from the Soviet Government 400 rubles a month; I gave him 300 and besides he earned another 700. Still he could not find sufficient food for his only daughter, and committed suicide.

A wealthy house owner, Mrs. I. Shaposnikov, committed suicide, leaving a note saying: "Hunger and cold forced me to do this."

The president of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, Dzerzhinsky, appeared last New Year's Eve in our prison and commenced asking all the reason of their imprisonment. Most declared that they were absolutely ignorant why they were arrested. I was next to Col. Fraise. When Dzerzhinsky asked him, and the colonel knew only English and French, whilst Dzerzhinsky only Russian and German, I had to translate in French. The colonel's exhausted condition induced me to transmit only part of Dzerzhinsky's talk; I did not wish to increase his sufferings. No wonder he was exhausted. Long imprisonment and bad food were sufficient reasons. Our rations were: Morning, one-eighth to one-fourth pound of bread and one teaspoonful of sugar; at noon: Very small amount of bad fish. Nothing more, only after the second half of December we received at 4 o'clock a second portion of fish. That is how prisoners are kept for several months in the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. In the regular prison food was slightly better. We received 1 pound of bread and twice, at 12 o'clock and 4 o'clock, the same fish and some sort of porridge, consisting chiefly of water. Still all prisoners want to be transferred to the regular prison in order not to hear the nightly shooting at the Extraordinary Commission.

Espionage and provocation are developed to highest perfection. Agents of the Extraordinary Commission are everywhere—in all departments, railroad carriages, streets and private houses. A. Hoelzke, with family and several friends, was arrested and remained one and one-half months in prison for expressing the opinion that the Bolsheviks would scarcely be able to collect the extraordinary taxes, as they were too high. I. Lopatin was arrested because he said in his home that he did not believe the Allies would recognize the Bolsheviks. His servant denounced him and he sat two months.

N. Potelakhov, a well-known cotton dealer from Turkestan, was arrested in April, 1918. President Dzerzhinsky declared he would remain in prison till Orenburg was taken by the Red Army, then he would be sent to Turkestan to buy cotton. When the cotton was received he was to get a commission of 2 per cent and to be free. After an imprisonment of six months, in October he was tried for the first time and asked why he was in prison. When he assured his ignorance, the commissary said he would look into the matter. In December he was tried again and as there was no charge against him the judge explained that prison was now the place for rich people. When he was arrested it was found that he possessed 68,000,000 rubles, which were confiscated, and the informant received the usual 20 per cent reward. In February, he was sent to Turkestan to buy cotton to the amount of 2,000,000,000 rubles.

Even Bolsheviks are alarmed at the misdeeds, and the newspapers publish sometimes protests of dissatisfaction against the numerous executions of innocent persons without judgment or even examination.

Krylenko and Diakonov protested in meetings and newspapers; they agitated against the right of the Extraordinary Commission to execute people without proof of guilt. The official Izvestia answered: "If among 100 executed 1 was guilty, this would be satisfactory and would sanction the action of the commission." Still a compromise was found: The Extraordinary Commission obtained the right to execute without judgment only in places where martial law was declared. But as the cities are long ago under martial law, and in other parts of Soviet Russia martial law can be declared any time, nothing has changed. In fact, prisoners whom it is desired to shoot without judgment are simply brought to Moscow, as it was done February last with those officers of the organization in Vladimir.

No meetings except those arranged by the Bolsheviks are allowed, and those caught at any gathering are shot or interned, according to the character of the meeting, in former monasteries.

February last the Socialist-Revolutionaries were permitted to publish their newspaper, which, however, was suppressed after a few days. From time to time anti-Bolshevist proclamations appear, but in case it is discovered where they have been printed, the owner of the typography, even if he knew nothing of it, is shot. Such was the fate of the owner of the typography Ivanov.

About half of the arrested persons sentenced to death are not examined, and it is for this reason that so many deplorable mistakes occur. During the time of my imprisonment five such cases occurred.

Discontent and hatred against the Bolsheviks are now so strong that a shock or the knowledge of approaching help would suffice to make the people rise and annihilate the Communists. Considering this discontent and hatred, it would seem that elections to different councils should produce candidates of other parties. Nevertheless all councils consist of Communists. The explanation is very plain. That freedom of election of which the Bolsheviks write and talk so much, consists in the free election of certain persons, a list of which had already been prepared. For instance, if in one district six delegates have to be elected, seven to eight names are mentioned, of which six can be chosen. Very characteristic in this respect were the elections February last in the district of * * * , Moscow Province, where I have one of my estates. Nearly all voters, about 200, of which 12 Communists, came to the district town. Seven delegates had to be elected and only seven names were on the prepared list, naturally all Communists. The local Soviet invited the 12 communistic voters to a house, treated them with food, tea, and sugar, and gave each 10 rubles per day: the others received nothing, not even housing. But they, knowing what they had to expect from former experiences, had provided for such an emergency and decided to remain to the end. The day of election was fixed and put off from day to day. After four postponements the Soviet saw no way out. The result was that the seven delegates elected by all against 12 votes, belonged to the Octobrists and Constitutional-Democrats. But these seven and a number of the wealthier voters were immediately arrested as agitators against the Soviet Republic. New elections were announced three days later but this time the place was surrounded by machine guns. The next day official papers announced the unanimous election of Communists in the district of Verea. After a short time peasant revolts started. To put down these Chinese and Letts were sent and about 300 peasants were killed. Then began arrests, but it is not known how many were executed.

Of course no freedom of professional trade union exists either. If a union elects as member of the committee one not belonging to the Communists, the union and committee are subject to all sorts of illtreatments, like requisition of their premises, arrest of members, house searching, etc., as it happened to the printer's union who elected Mensheviks as managers.

This is in general the political situation. Appalling terror, defenseless population, espionage and provocation are the factors thanks to which the Soviet Government still exists.

The economic situation is still worse and according to the People's Commissary Krassin's statement, a catastrophe. Transport scarcely exists. Notwithstanding the fact of abundant quantities of grain brought to eastern and southern governments there is no possibility of moving them, not even enough for the larger towns. The quantity of locomotives sent for repair is twice as large as that coming out ready for use; and adding to this the want of fuel, thanks to which trains often remain at stations several days waiting for delivery of wood, it is comprehensible why Moscow and other cities have no heating material and electric light.

For three months Moscow will have no electric light and no gas; tramways are running on three lines only and till 6 o'clock. The price for one cubic sashen (7 feet) now is 4,800 to 5,000 rubles (normal price 30–50 rubles). About 50 per cent of houses with central system of heating are no longer fit for use; the pipes have been frozen and burst.

Water and canalization pipes also burst and there is nothing to replace them with and no workmen either. The best houses were occupied by Bolsheviks; having no fuel they used the parquetry and when pipes burst and canalization would not work, they used a room as W.C., and when it was no longer possible to live in such a flat they requisitioned another one, remarking cynically: Let the bourgeois clean the place after us; plenty of lodgings remain for us yet.

Furniture from private houses and storeshouses is requisitioned and given, free of charge, to Communists and commissaries; the commissaries take and sell the best furniture, carpets, and pictures.

Most factories and mills have stopped working and the machines left to their fate; the rest, due to want of fuel and raw material, will soon follow. Zinoviev remarked of these: "They barely groan and scarcely cover the cost of fuel."

The productiveness of labor has fallen to a minimum, thanks to hunger and unwillingness to work for the Bolsheviks. Twenty-four rubles per day has been declared as the minimum wage and February last an increase of 30 per cent was accorded, but not paid for want of currency. Payment of wages is delayed four to five weeks and sometimes two months. According to Commissary Gandler, who was in prison with me, most of the printed money is used for propaganda in all countries; in February large amounts were sent to India and Afghanistan. As the exchange has now fallen too much, the Bolsheviks send diamonds and other jewelery stolen from safes and during searches, and from the results of their sale the propaganda is carried on. Still this was not sufficient and from the beginning of March the Bolsheviks have been printing foreign money. I am repeating the words of former Commissary Gandler and believe he said the truth, as he was furious on account of his arrest. He could reveal much as he was a special commissary on the frontier and received particular instructions for passing agitators.

The bourgeoisie are literally starving and are selling their last belongings; belonging to the third category, they received three-fourths of a pound of bread and during the whole winter a few pounds of herring and other fish. Sick persons received increased nourishment, if certified by a Soviet doctor and a local Soviet. My wife obtained this grant after a series of petitions. And besides the ordinary allowances sick persons received in the course of one month 5 pounds of lentils and one-eighth pound of salted butter.

On all market places one can see bourgeoisie selling clothes and other belongings, to be able to buy food.

The agricultural situation is desperate. All agricultural equipment stolen from the estates is spoilt and there is no one to repair it, and it would not be of much use as there are no seeds and persons possessing such do not intend sowing them, but try to sell on the sly, as the Bolsheviks took last autumn's crop from the peasants at a low figure. Peasants just culivate sufficient for their own needs and a quantity, which allowed, is kept. Former private estates are managed by a commission of all kinds of rabble or by a Soviet steward. In most cases all that was left on the estate disappeared; enormous accounts are presented, money received, and except immense losses, the estate produces nothing. Live stock, formerly stolen and sold by the Bolsheviks, now is requisitioned from the richer peasants.

Prices in Moscow in April were:	Rubles.
1 pound black bread	25–40
10 eggs	110–130
1 goose	55–60
1 pound butter	140–190
1 pound pork	125–150
1 pound hay	55–60

A drive by cab from the center of town to the station (about 2 miles) 250 to 300 rubles. Very often fallen horses remain in the streets for several days. Moscow is slowly dying from hunger, cold, and epidemics. Corpses remain unburied for two to three weeks; coffins cannot be had in sufficient numbers. Frequently some unfortunate bourgeois makes a coffin out of a chest of drawers for his dead child. Suicide is now not at all unusual. Last winter corpses of persons, who did not die from any contagious disease, were buried temporarily in the snow. Hungry dogs were feeding on these corpses and one could find in streets near the cemetery, hands or legs torn off these bodies.

"All Moscow" is seen daily on the Sukharev market, buying and selling. Everything can be bought for money: Forged passports cost from 1,000 to 5,000 rubles; for all sorts of false orders and certificates prices vary according to their importance. I have myself paid 10,000 rubles to a war commissary for a forged certificate for the right to travel by railroad.

From all this the economic bankruptcy of life is evident; organized theft and corruption increase the breakdown.

The military situation is also very poor. No one wants to serve; fear of being shot forces recruits to appear, but at the first possible moment most soldiers run away. In every regiment, in every battalion some Communists are placed and it was decided not to form any more special units of Communists. Trotsky came to the conclusion, that by spreading Communists all over the army the process of communism would be more complete; they play also the rôle of spies and provocators. When advancing they are behind the lines and shoot any deserters or those not showing fight, also in case of retreat. Only this threat keeps the soldiers back from more general desertion. It must be regretted that among the Russian officers a certain number serve the Bolsheviks, and not out of fear but sympathy; some are even staff officers, colonels, and generals—of the old army. But the bulk of officers going to the front only think of how to go over to the other side. The war commissary, from whom I bought the forged certificate, told me that in the real sense of the word there is no army; there is a highly unreliable element ready at any given moment to turn arms against the Bolsheviks. He accompanied a division from Petrograd to the eastern front, and upon arrival only 280 soldiers remained with him. Horses are few and miserable, guns and ammunition are still sufficient from the old stock, but the new output does not replace the consumption.

Regarding the part Japan is playing in our country, I only know what Bolshevist papers say and we know next to nothing of what is going on abroad. They informed us chiefly of their successes and of different revolutionary movements in other countries. It is clear that the Russians have been deceived by beautiful phrases, exhausted under the yoke of Bolshevism and notwithstanding the earnest desire they can not emancipate themselves; the Intelligentsia is frightened and impotent, workmen went to the villages and mixed with the peasants who are also apprehensive, unarmed, and not organized. Those few who were able to escape the claws of the Bolsheviks and are ready to give their lives for the freedom of Russia, are not only doing this for their country but for humanity; the danger of the Bolshevist disease is threatening the whole cultured world, and if immediate and very energetic steps are not taken for the reestablishment of order in Russia, if a State power guilty of the worst deeds is allowed to remain in the hands of bandits, every day will increase the danger for the whole world, and make the difficulty of relief more precarious.

Help for Russia is needed immediately. Setting aside all other considerations, the liquidation of Bolshevism is not only a Russian, it is an international problem, and delay weakens the position of cultured humanity and thereby strengthens Bolshevist forces—the stranglers of all culture. The nations of the world can not silently sit by, witnesses of organized murder, theft, and plunder.

Let representatives of French workmen ask their compatriots Baré, Vaquié, Jeannean Harrié, who have been in prison with me, of the torments they suffered. Let the English working class take information from Col. Fraise and others, returned not long ago, of those horrors the latter have gone through and witnessed. And just let the workmen of all countries more closely and in detail become acquainted with what is going on in Soviet Russia. Then they will understand that Russia in the hands of the Bolsheviks is nothing but a source of enrichment, and of propaganda in other countries, that the interests of the working classes are worse looked after than even under the Tsar, that at the head of the government are not the representatives of workmen and peasants, but a gang of bandits and mostly criminals. This gang persecutes all, bourgeois and workmen—whoever raises his voice to reveal their doings.

Covering themselves with the high-toned name of "workmen's government" they do not hesitate to execute workmen and by shooting them throttle the expression of opinion and righteous demands.

By a decree of the Soviet Government no strikes are allowed, and for this reason anyone guilty is handed over for sabotage to the revolutionary tribunal, but most are punished without judgment.

The workmen of the Alexander Railroad had a meeting February last, demanding more bread; this meeting was dispersed by Chinese and Lettish troops resulting in several dozens dead and wounded. After this suppression all workmen received warning. Alarmed by the agitation amongst other workmen, the Soviet power published in the press that the suppression was an arbitary act of the commissary who was dismissed. After a short time this same commissary received a new and better position in another town.

Scarcely any representatives of workmen are in the Executive Committee, unless one counts those criminals who years ago were workmen. When workmen began to object strongly, in order to smooth matters, a workman, Kalinin, was elected and this election was then strongly advertised.

The barbarous suppression of the workmen in Briansk and Orel is unparalleled in the history of labor riots; even those of January 9, 1905, and the Lena trouble can not be compared.

The working classes of other countries who sympathize with the Soviet Government in Russia should learn to know more closely the activity of that power. Then they would understand that by supporting the Bolsheviks they are undermining their own existence.

I repeat: Help is needed immediately and in great strength, without limit; Russia, torn to pieces and exhausted, will show that she can thank her rescuers.

XIV.

Budget of the First Six Months of 1919.

[Moscow Ekonomicheskaya Zhĭsn, May 21, 1919.]

Attempting a review of the State budget of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic for January to June 1919, it is necessary to say a few words with regard to the preceding two revolutionary budgets: For January to June 1918 and for July to December 1918. Neither of these budgets reflects a full picture of the financial condition of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, because of conditions attending their production. The budget for the first half of the year of 1918, gotten up immediately after the revolution accomplished toward the end of October, 1917, while differing essentially from the budgets of the previous years in its contents as well as in its special items, could not be satisfactory, because it was gotten up in a most acute moment of the revolution. The greatest weakness of that budget was the fact that it took no account of the operations of the chief producing organ—the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, nor of the operations of the People's Food Commissariat. No more did the budget for the second half of 1918 give a proper picture of all the financial-economic operations of the country. It also failed to account completely for all the economic operations of the country, and included principally expenditures of the consuming apparatus. From the operations of the chief productive organ, namely the Supreme Soviet of National Economy and of the organ of distribution—the People's Food Commissariat—the budget of the second half of 1918 contained no revenues. The expenditures were taken account of only in the form of balances between gross receipts and expenditures, while both the Supreme Soviet of National Economy and the People's Food Commissariat disposed of their receipts as their own special resources apart from the general State budget.

The first peculiarity of the budget for January to June 1919 consisted in the application of a new cardinal principle—that all receipts and all disbursements be calculated in the general State budget. The second modification in the new budget is the omission of the division into ordinary and extraordinary revenues and expenditures.

Receipts:	Rubles.
1. Direct taxes	1,732,001,980
2. Indirect taxes	2,572,184,000
3. Customs	97,939,100
4. State regalia	810,696,500
5. State property	14,789,269,363
6. Reimbursement of expenses of State treasury	63,659,925
7. Miscellaneous	277,877,020
Total	20,343,627,888

Disbursements:	Rubles.
1. All-Russian Central Executive Committee	459,156,742
2. Office of Council of People's Commissaries	842,045
3. Commissariat for Foreign Affairs	11,400,000
4. Commissariat for Affairs of Nationalities	16,714,337
5. Commissariat for Internal Affairs	655,542,712
6. Commissariat for Education	3,887,993,727
7. Commissariat for Labor	280,816,069
8. Commissariat for Public Health	1,227,834,057
9. Commissariat for Social Welfare	1,619,130,903

Disbursements—Continued.	Rubles.
10. Commissariat for Justice	250, 523, 251
11. Commissariat for Finances	1, 403, 604, 258
12. Supreme Soviet of National Economy	5, 813, 951, 055
13. Commissariat for Agriculture	532, 725, 811
14. Commissariat for Food	8, 152, 880, 527
15. Commissariat for Commerce and Industry	202, 007, 828
16. Commissariat for Means of Communication	5, 072, 906, 230
17. Commissariat for Post and Telegraph	573, 103, 010
18. Commissariat for Military Affairs	12, 149, 770, 487
19. Commissariat for Naval Affairs	521, 068, 892
20. Commissariat for State Control	107, 599, 080
21. Central Statistical Office	69, 119, 000
22. All-Russian Evacuation Commission	55, 800, 000
23. All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-revolution, etc	348, 258, 215
24. To liquidate annulled loans	100, 181, 020
25. Interest on debt to People's Bank by treasury	1, 625, 617, 000
26. Expenses of nationalization and office of S. S. N. E	5, 162, 625, 009
27. Expenses of local soviets	201, 456, 567
28. Appropriations for extraordinary expenses	200, 000, 000
Total	50, 702, 627, 832

Comparison of receipts and disbursements in rubles (in millions) for January–June, 1919, January–June, 1918, and July–December, 1918.

	1919, January–June.		1918.			
			January–June.		July–December.	
	Receipts.	Disbursements.	Receipts.	Disbursements.	Receipts.	Disbursements.
A. RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS IN PRODUCING.						
Operations of Supreme Soviet of National Economy	5,812	8,685	.....	2,000	12	2,759
State sugar operation	493	344	582	472	584	363
State alcohol operation	257	242	97	15	52	10
State timber operation	164	89	40	45	164	80
	6,726	9,358	719	2,532	812	3,212
B. RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS IN DISTRIBUTING.						
Provisioning of population	6,500	8,153	.....	1,372	.....	3,143
Reserve state fund of provisions	2,250	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Purchase of goods abroad for nationalized undertakings	.....	127	.....	.....	.....	.....
	8,750	8,280	.....	1,372	.....	3,143
C. RAILWAY AND WATER TRANSPORT.						
Railways	923	5,004	731	3,791	490	3,471
Nationalized merchant fleet	302	425	256	460	302	3,902
	1,225	5,429	987	4,251	792	7,373
MISCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION.						
Taxes and customs	2,123	.....	862	.....	10,820	.....
State regalia	61	.....	210	.....	105	.....
State capitals and property	1,117	.....	11	.....	143	.....
Various receipts	347	.....	64	.....	45	.....
Education, science, and art	.....	2,327	.....	525	.....	2,004
Public building	.....	1,396	.....	416	.....	1,002
Disbursements for defense	.....	12,491	.....	5,371	.....	9,762
Other disbursements	.....	11,422	.....	3,136	.....	6,078
	3,648	27,636	1,147	9,449	11,123	18,846
Total	20,349	50,703	2,853	17,633	12,727	29,103

(The author says that while the enormous deficit of 30,353,000,000 rubles is obtained, relatively, as seen from the comparison, it shows a favorable situation. For the first half of 1918 the deficit amounted to 83.8 per cent of the disbursement, and for the second half of 1918 the deficit amounted to 58.6 per cent. Since, however, in the receipts for the second half of 1918 the extraordinary levy of 10,000,000,000 which can not be repeated, was included, the real deficit would amount to 90.7 per cent. For the first half of 1919 the deficit amounts to 59.8 per cent. The author considers it a hopeful progress and believes that the items of receipts can be increased in the future to equal disbursements.

Analyzing separately the various group deficits, the author calls attention to the absence of receipts from the agricultural undertakings of the State and to the very conservative estimate of the receipts from the nationalized industries.

The author considers the real irreparable deficit to be that of the transport operations. He lays it at the door of the imperialistic war, which has ruined transport.

The disbursements of Group D for education, public buildings, and defense are considered not total losses, because of the values they create. The real deficit, according to the author, is 7,774,000,000 rubles and 4,204,000,000, for Group C.)

XV.

Interview with Gregory Alexinsky.

[Copenhagen Socialdemokraten, June 17, 1919.]

Our party colleague, Gregory Alexinsky, former Social-Democratic member of the Duma for Petrograd and of the Central Committee for the Social-Democratic Organization "Edinstvo" (the Marxist group founded by Plekhanov), has been in Copenhagen for the past few days. He has come from Moscow by the route Petrograd-Reval and has visited our editorial office, on which occasion we requested him to give our readers a picture of the situation of present-day Russia. With great willingness our party colleague placed himself at our disposal for an interview, and we let him speak for himself in the following:

"I left Moscow on May 3," he states, "and left Petrograd on May 17. Thus the news of my country I can give you is fairly fresh, particularly if you take into consideration the difficulties existing at the time in communication between Russia and Europe. At the time of my departure from Petrograd the condition of affairs in Bolshevist Russia was very distressing. The majority of the industrial enterprises are not operating. In the Moscow district 63 textile factories stopped working last fall, and the same picture appears with respect to the textile industry in the vicinity of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, near Petrograd, etc. The chemical industry, the paper industry and many others are likewise in a miserable condition."

But the metal industry? we ask. The munitions factories?

"Yes," Mr. Alexinsky answers, "in this instance the Bolshevist Government has done everything to keep the work going in the plants that produce ammunition, but nevertheless many of them are shut down. Owing to the lack of rolling stock transportation is not good either. The number of 'sick' locomotives and cars is so large that the workshops are unable to cope with the repairs."

How are conditions with respect to the taking over by the Bolsheviks of means of production, and to wages?

"In this respect the Government has entirely deserted the principles it had promised to apply. In order to increase the production it has already reintroduced the forms which existed prior to the socialization, particularly payment on piecework, the premium system, etc. In short, parity of wages does not exist.

"Among the causes which have prevented the socialization being carried through successfully the following must be emphasized: (1) Shortage of fuel and raw material; (2) our proletariat's inadequate preparation in technical, social and psychological respects, because instead of conceiving of socialization as an increase of its productive work the insufficiently developed and short-sighted workman looked upon it exclusively as an increase of wages, an increase which is purely imaginary because the price of provisions is increasing steadily.

"But, in particular, Russia, which was in a precapitalistic stage of development, could not in the nature of affairs realize the socialistic order of its industries because—as Marx and Engels have established in general and their pupil Plekhanov for Russia—the socialistic order can not be invented according to the will of a few leaders, but must be the result of the consummation of the capitalistic development."

We requested our party colleague to explain what effect this dismal situation of Russia's industry, which he documented in the above, has had upon the position of the working population, and, in particular, we asked for some practical examples as illustrations.

"This lamentable picture of our industry's decay has," he continues, "led to terrible complications for the workmen on account of the great shortage of provisions and an enormous increase in prices. Bread, 'black bread'—rye bread because there is no wheat left—costs 35 to 40 rubles per pound in Petrograd; sugar, 180 to 200 rubles per pound; butter 140 to 180 rubles; tea, 200 rubles; men's footwear, 1,200 to 1,500 rubles per pair, etc. Horse meat costs 30 rubles per pound. In Moscow prices are about on the same scale. On the big market in Moscow (Sukharev) dog meat is being sold openly, and the official financial gazette publishes statistics showing fluctuations in the price of such meat (5 to 7 rubles per pound). Even a box of matches costs between 3½ and 4 rubles.

"I could mention many more such figures, but I believe that these are sufficient to prove to you how great the material sufferings are, which Russia's population must bear, even though it was promised a communistic paradise. Oh, it has obtained a very unsatisfactory position.

"On account of the shortage of provisions, fuel, soap, and other commodities that are absolutely indispensable for the public health and welfare, contagious diseases are spreading everywhere. In Moscow the official statistical bureau calculates 10,000 cases of contagious diseases per week. Of that number 8,000 cases are typhoid fever (typhus exanthematicus). In Petrograd 30 per cent of the patients in the communal hospitals die of ordinary consumption which is the result of famine. Coffins for burying the dead are lacking, and in Moscow the same coffin is used for various

interments; a corpse is transported to the grave in a coffin, buried without the coffin, which is sent back to the city to be used for the transportation of the next corpse, etc. * * *

"But," said Alexinsky, changing the subject, "I will not bore you and sadden you with all of these disconsolate descriptions. Let me tell you that I have stood in the ranks of Russian Social-Democracy for almost 20 years, and that it is naturally the interests of the workmen that occupy me most. In that respect I must state that these interests have suffered immeasurably through the present crisis. In Petrograd there are only about 700,000 inhabitants left out of two and one-half millions. Two-thirds of the city's labor population, which I represented in the Duma, no longer exists; a part migrated into the country, another part died of starvation, etc. Some believe that we can only count on two to two and one-half million industrial workmen instead of the ten to twelve millions Russia had prior to the war and the domestic crisis. The remainder has spread like chaff before the wind, among the small bourgeoisie and the agricultural population. To use a comparison, I might say that the industrial proletariat's oases in Russia have been devoured by mighty stretches of sand out in the country's desert, and now it is the country that rules over the towns.

"This economic phenomenon is not favorable for us socialists, because we lose the ground on which we had worked hitherto, we lose the proletarian masses which had been our circle, our field of action. Therefore, we Marxian Social-Democrats, we representatives of scientific socialism, can by no means approve of the Bolshevist Government's economic and political activity, and we recollect Engel's prophetic words when he said that the worst misfortune that can happen to the proletariat is to assume the power prematurely, i.e. at a moment at which the country's general conditions are not sufficiently mature for the realization of genuine socialism. This disaster, our Russian party colleagues exclaims, has now dealt Russia's proletariat an economic and social blow which is appalling."

But the peasants' position, we interject, is that so brilliant?

"By no means," he answers. "From a material point of view they lack supplies and necessities. For instance, they have no petroleum and must illuminate their huts with ordinary bits of wood that are used as small torches and give very little light, but a lot of smoke. As they have no factory-woven stuffs, they must fall back on their grandmother's old methods and weave for themselves what they need in the clothing line.

"But it is of the utmost importance that the peasants have received the land as their property, and the land question is perhaps the only one that has been more or less solved by the revolution, in favor of the wide masses of the population. They all understand that, and even the old estate owners do not take any stock in the possibility of a return to former agrarian conditions. The White leaders also realize it, and Admiral Kolchak has issued a proclamation in which he promises the peasants that the estates they have taken away from the former owners shall remain in their possession until the all-Russian national assembly makes its decision. The leader of the Whites who occupied the towns of Pskov (Pleskau) and Gdov (along the front between Petrograd and Pskov) issued a similar proclamation to the peasants. Thus one can state that under the exterior forms of "communism" and "socialization" the process of the transfer of land ownership from estate owners to peasants is being consummated in Russia. And that is the real import of the "Social Revolution" in our country.

"Accordingly simultaneously with the destruction of capitalism in its highest grades of development in big industry and big business, it is being reborn from below and penetrating all pores of national economics in Russia. And Lenin himself has had to admit in a speech he recently made, that in place of the old bourgeoisie a new bourgeoisie is arising and becoming more and more numerous.

"That is what I am able to relate to you concerning the general character of conditions in Russia. With respect to the political and military situation, there is naturally a great deal more to tell, but perhaps I can speak of that some other day. * * * "

In that manner our party colleague who was Russian delegate to the congress at Basle, closes his instructive narrative. But before he leaves us he reports the sad news that death has taken away Vera Zasulich, whose name in the ranks of Russian Social-Democracy is familiar to our readers, inasmuch as she founded the first Social-Democratic labor organization in Russia (1883) together with Plekhanov and Leo Deutsch. She died at Petrograd on May 9, after a long siege of sickness, due to inadequate food, as well as psychic collapse owing to her deep sorrow at witnessing the errors and disasters of her country's proletariat. Vera Zasulich lies buried in the Volkovo cemetery, by the side of Plekhanov, whose theoretical and political views she shared up to her last breath.

XVI.

Theses of Lenin, of 1918.

[First read to party workers in January, but not published until March; Izvestia, Mar. 8, 1918.]

1. The situation of the Russian revolution at the present moment is such, that almost all workmen and the overwhelming majority of the peasants undoubtedly are on the side of the Soviet authority, and of the social revolution started by it. To that extent the success of the socialistic revolution in Russia is guaranteed.

2. At the same time the civil war, caused by the frantic resistance of the propertied classes which understand very well that they are facing the last and decisive struggle to preserve private property in land, and in the means of production, has not as yet reached its highest point. The victory of the Soviet authority in this war is guaranteed, but inevitably some time yet must pass, inevitably a considerable exertion of strength will be required, a certain period of acute disorganization and chaos, which always attend any war and in particular a civil war, is inevitable, before the resistance of the bourgeoisie will be crushed.

3. Further, this resistance takes less and less active, and nonmilitary forms: Sabotage, bribing beggars, bribing agents of the bourgeoisie who have pushed themselves into the ranks of the socialists in order to ruin the latter's cause, etc. This resistance has proven stubborn, and capable of assuming so many different forms, that the struggle against it will inevitably drag along for a certain period, and will probably not be finished in its main aspects before several months. And without a decisive victory over this passive and concealed resistance of the bourgeoisie and its champions, the success of the socialistic revolution is impossible.

4. Finally, the organizing tasks of the socialistic reorganization of Russia are so enormous and difficult, that a rather prolonged period of time is also required to solve them, in view of the large number of petty bourgeoisie fellow-travelers of the socialistic proletariat, and of the latter's low cultural level.

5. All these circumstances taken together are such that from them result the necessity, for the success of socialism in Russia, of a certain interval of time, not less than a few months, in the course of which the socialistic government must have its hands absolutely free, in order to triumph over the bourgeoisie, first of all in its own country, and in order to adopt broad and deep organizing activity.

6. The state of affairs respecting the socialist revolution in Russia must be made the foundation for any definition of the international tasks of the new Soviet authority: for the international situation in the fourth year of the war has become such that the probable moment of the outbreak of revolution, and the overthrow of any of the European imperialistic governments (including the German) absolutely can not be calculated. There is no doubt that the socialist revolution in Europe must come and will come. All our hopes for the definitive triumph of socialism are based on this conviction, and on this scientific prevision. Our propagandist activities in general, and the organizationg of fraternization in particular, should be strengthened and developed. But it would be a mistake to build up the tactic of the socialistic government in Russia on attempts to determine whether or not the European and especially the German socialist revolution will come within the next six months (or a similarly short period). As it is quite impossible to decide this fact, all attempts to do so would really amount simply to a blind gamble.

7. The peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk have shown quite clearly to date, January 7, 1918, that in the German Government, which leads the other Governments of the quadruple alliance by the bridle, the military party has without question gained the ascendancy, and has in fact already presented an ultimatum to Russia (one can, one must, expect the formal presentation of the ultimatum from day to day). This ultimatum is as follows: Either further war or an annexationist peace, that is a peace on the condition that we give up all lands occupied by us, while the Germans keep all the lands occupied by them, and impose on us a contribution (externally concealed as payment for the support of prisoners of war) of about three billion rubles, to be paid in instalments over the period of several years.

8. The Socialist Government of Russia faces a question that requires an immediate decision, whether to accept immediately this annexationist peace or to carry on immediately a revolutionary war. No middle course is really possible. Further postponements are quite out of the question, inasmuch as we have already done everything possible, and impossible, to drag along artificially the negotiations.

9. Examining the arguments in favor of an immediate revolutionary war, we meet first of all the argument that a separate peace would now mean, objectively, an agreement with the German imperialists, an "imperialistic bargain," etc., and that therefore such a peace would be a complete rupture with the fundamental principles of proletarian internationalism.

But this argument is clearly unsound. The workmen who lose a strike, and sign conditions for the resumption of work that are disadvantageous for them and advantageous for the capitalist, do not betray socialism. Only those betray socialism who exchange advantages for a portion of the workmen against advantages for the capitalists, and only such agreements are inadmissible.

It is treason to socialism to call a war against German imperialism a defensive and just war, when in fact one receives support from Anglo-French imperialists, and one hides from the people the secret agreements with the latter. He who without hiding anything from the people, and without concluding any secret treaties with imperialists, agrees to sign terms of peace disadvantageous for a weak nation, but advantageous for the imperialists of one group if at the moment there is no strength to continue the war, does not commit the slightest treason to socialism.

10. The other argument in favor of immediate war is that by concluding peace we in fact become the agents of German imperialism, for we give the latter the release of troops from our front, millions of prisoners, etc. But this argument also is clearly unsound, for a revolutionary war at the present moment would in fact make us the agents of the Anglo-French imperialism, giving to the latter strength that would assist it in its aims. The English made the direct proposal to our commander-in-chief, Krylenko, to pay 100 rubles a month for each soldier in the event of the continuation of the war. Even if we do not take a single kopeck from the English and French, nevertheless, we shall in fact be helping them by keeping occupied a portion of the German troops.

On the other hand in both cases we shall not be breaking completely with either of the imperialistic connections; and it is clear that it is not possible to break off such connections completely until imperialism has been overthrown the world over. The correct conclusion then is the following: Until the victory of a socialistic government in one of these countries, one must decide all questions not from the point of view of preference for this or that imperialism, but exclusively from the point of view of the best conditions for the development and strengthening of the socialist revolution, which has already begun.

In other words the principle lying at the basis of our tactic should not be which of the two imperialists it is more profitable to assist at the present moment, but should be what is the better and more hopeful way to secure for the socialist revolution the possibility of strengthening itself or at least of maintaining itself in one country, until other countries shall join.

11. They say that the German Social-Demoerats who opposed the war have now become "defeatists," and ask us not to give way to the German imperialism. But we have recognized defeatism only with respect to one's own imperialistic bourgeoisie, while we have always rejected victory over a foreign imperialism, a victory secured by formal or actual alliance with "friendly" imperialism, as a method in principle inadmissible and in general useless.

This argument consequently is only a variety of the preceding one. If the German Left Social-Democrats should propose to us to put off the separate peace for a certain length of time, guaranteeing a revolutionary outbreak in Germany within that period of time, then the question might present itself differently to us. But the German Lefts not only do not speak of this, but on the contrary they declare in a formal manner: "Hold out as long as you can, but decide the question in accordance with the situation of Russian socialist revolution, for one can promise nothing positive with respect to the German revolution."

12. Some say that we have in fact "promised" a revolutionary war in a series of party declarations and that the conclusion of a separate peace would be going back on our word. This is not true. We spoke of the need, for a socialistic government, of "preparing and conducting" a revolutionary war in a period of imperialism; we said this in order to combat abstraet pacifism—the theory of the complete denial of "defense of country"—in a period of imperialism, and finally to combat the purely bodily instincts of a portion of the soldiers, but we did not assume any obligation to begin a revolutionary war without taking in account the extent to which it could be carried on at this or that moment.

And now we should without any question speak of revolutionary war. We shall carry out this promise of ours, just as we have in general carried out all our promises, which could be carried out immediately; we opened up the secret treaties, we proposed to all peoples a just peace, we dragged out the peace negotiation in every possible way, and several times, in order to give other peoples time to join in.

But the question whether it is possible now, immediately, to conduct a revolutionary war, must be decided by reckoning out the exclusively material conditions of carrying it on and also the interests of the socialistic revolution that has already begun.

13. Summarizing then the arguments in favor of an immediate revolutionary war, one must come to the conclusion that such a policy would perhaps correspond to the requirements of mankind in its striving for the beautiful, the effective and clear, but would not at all take into account the objective interrelations of class forces, and the material factors at the present moment of the socialistic revolution that has started.

14. There is no doubt that our army at the present moment, and for the next few weeks (and probably also the next months) is absolutely not in a condition successfully to resist the German attacks, in the first place because of the extreme weariness and exhaustion of the majority of the soldiers in the presence of an unheard-of breakdown of the food supply service and so forth; in the second place, as the result of the complete inadequacy of the supply of horses, so that our artillery is destined to inevitable less; in the third place, as the result of the utter impossibility of the defending the coast from Riga to Reval, which gives the enemy the surest chance to conquer the remaining postions of Livland, and then of Estland, to surround and cut off a large portion of our troops, and finally to take Petrograd.

15. Further, there is also no doubt that the peasant majority of our army at the present moment would undoubtedly express itself in favor of an annexationist peace, and not in favor of an immediate revolutionary war; for the work of creating a socialistic revolutionary army, putting into it detachments of the Red Guard and such, has only just been begun.

With the complete democratization of the army, it would be a mere adventure to carry on war against the will of the majority of the soldiers, and at least several months are necessary to build up a really solid, and ideally strong, socialistic workman-peasant army.

16. The poorest peasants in Russia are in a state to support a socialistic revolution led by the workman class, but they are not ready immediately, at the present moment, to go in for a serious revolutionary war. It would be a fatal mistake to disregard this objective interrelation of class forces in connection with the given question.

17. The situation with respect to the revolutionary war at the present moment therefore stands as follows:

If the German revolution should break out in the next three or four months, then perhaps the tactic of an immediate revolutionary war would not ruin our socialistic revolution.

But if the German revolution does not start within the next months, then the course of events, the war being continued, will certainly be such that greater defeats will force Russia to conclude an even more disadvantageous separate peace, and further this peace will be concluded not by a socialistic government, but by some other (for example, by a combination of the bourgeois Rada with reactionary elements, or some such combination); for the peasant army, exhausted beyond endurance by the war, after the very first defeats probably not in the month but in a week will overthrow the socialistic workmen's government.

18. With such a state of affairs it would be an absolutely inadmissible tactic to gamble with the fate of the socialistic revolution that has already begun in Russia, simply on the chance that the German revolution will begin within a very short time, that can be measured in weeks. Such a tactic would be an adventure. We have no right to take such risks.

19. And a German revolution will not at all be made more difficult, with respect to its objective bases, if we shall conclude a separate peace. For the time the outburst of chauvinism will probably weaken it, but Germany will still remain in a very difficult position. The war with England and America will be a long-drawn out affair; aggressive imperialism on both sides has been exposed completely and definitely.

The example of a socialistic Soviet Republic in Russia will stand as a living model for the peoples of all countries and the propagandist and revolutionizing effect of this model will be gigantic. Here—the bourgeois order of society and the exposed predatory war of both groups of brigands while there—peace and the Socialistic Republic of Soviets.

20. By concluding peace we free ourselves as completely as is possible at the present moment from both warring imperialistic groups; taking advantage of their hostility, and of the war that makes it difficult for them to make a deal against us, we shall use a certain period when our hands are free, to continue and strengthen the socialistic revolution. The reorganization of Russia on the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the principle of the nationalization of banks and of large industrial enterprises, with the exchange of goods in natura between the town and the village cooperative societies of small peasants, is economically fully possible, on the condition that one is secured several months of peaceful activity. And such a reorganization will make socialism unconquerable, both in Russia and in the whole world, creating at the same time a solid basis for a powerful workman-peasant Red Army.

21. In fact, a revolutionary war at the present moment would be a war of a socialistic republic against bourgeois countries, with the clearly-expressed aim, fully approved by the socialistic army, of overthrowing the bourgeoisies in other countries. But we can not yet at the present moment deliberately set ourselves such an aim. We would be fighting, objectively, for the liberation of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland.[1] But not a single Marxist who does not break with the principles of Marxism, and of socialism in general, can deny that the interests of socialism stand above the interests of the right of nations to self-determination. Our socialistic republic has done everything that it can, and continues so to do, for the realization of the right of self-determination of Finland, the Ukraine, and so forth. But if the concrete state of affairs has become such that the existence of the socialistic republic is endangered at a given moment by the violation of the right of self-determination of several nations (Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and others), yet, of course, the interests of preserving the socialistic republic stand higher.

Therefore, whoever says "We can not sign a disgraceful, indecent, etc., peace, betray Poland, and so forth," does not see that by signing peace on the condition of the liberation of Poland, one has simply still further strengthened German imperialism against England, Belgium, Serbia, and other countries. Peace on the condition of the liberation of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, would be a "patriotic" peace from the point of view of Russia, but it would not cease to be a peace with annexationists, with German imperialists.

XVII.

World Revolution.

[Bolshevist Program, from Chapter XIX of Pamphlet entitled "Program of Communists," by N. Bukharin; July 24, 1918.]

The program of the Communist Party is the program not only of liberating the proletariat of one country; it is the program of liberating the proletariat of the world, for such is the program of the "International Revolution." At the same time it is the program of liberating all smaller, oppressed countries and peoples. Those robbers, the "Great Powers" (England, Germany, Japan, and America) have stolen an immense quantity of lands and peoples. They divided the world between themselves. It is not surprising that in these stolen countries the workmen and toilers are suffering under double pressure, under the pressure of their own bourgeois as well as under the pressure of the conquerors. The Tsar's Russia also stole many countries and peoples; that is why our "empire" is so enormous. Therefore among many of our so-called "aliens" and also among some of the non-Russian proletariat there was no faith in the Great-Russians. * * * For the definite victory of the workmen's revolution a complete mutual confidence between the different parts of the proletariat is all important. It must be pointed out and proved that the proletariat of the oppressing nation was a faithful ally of the proletariat of other nations. In Russia the dominant nation was the Great-Russian, who conquered the Finns, Tartars, Little-Russians, Armenians, Georgians, Poles, and many other peoples. It is natural that even among the proletariat of these peoples there exists a wrong conception concerning every Russian. They have been accustomed to see how the Tsar forcibly used Russians, and because of that have believed all Russians, even the members of the proletariat, to be of the kind.

Therefore, in order to create a brotherly union between the different divisions of the proletariat, the communist program announces the right of working classes of every nation to complete separation. That is to say, the Russian workman who has the power, says to workmen of other peoples living in Russia: "Comrades, if you do not care to become members of our Soviet Republic, if you desire to form your own Soviet Republic, do so. We give you the full right to do so. We do not wish to hold you by force a single minute."

Only by such tactics it is possible to win the confidence of the whole proletariat. We have only to imagine what would happen in case the Great-Russian Soviets should keep in subjection the working classes of other nations, and the latter should protect themselves with arms. It is evident that this would mean the entire failure of the proletarian movement, the complete collapse of the revolution. It is impossible to act in this way, for, we repeat, a brotherly union of proletarians is the one guarantee of victory.

We do not speak of the right of self-determination of nations (i. e., of their bourgeoise and their workmen), but only of the right of the working classes. Therefore, the so-called "will of the nation" is not sacred for us. Should we wish to learn the will of the nation, we would be forced to call a Constituent Assembly of the nation. For us, the will of the proletariat and of the semiproletarian masses is sacred. * * * During the dictatorship of the proletariat, not the will of the Constituent Assembly, but the will of the Soviets of the working people decides the question. And if at the same time in two different parts of Russia two assemblies should be called, a Constituent Assembly and a Congress of Soviets, and the former should against the will of the latter proclaim a "separation," we will defend the latter with all means, using armed force if necessary.

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[1] The last lines were spoken and not read.

That is the manner in which the proletarian party decides the question of different peoples of the same country. But then comes up the broader question of its international program. The way is clear here. It is the way of the world-wide support of the international revolution, of revolutionary propaganda, of strikes and rebellions in imperialistic countries, of uprisings in the colonies of these countries.

In the imperialistic countries (and such are all of them, except Russia, where the workmen have smashed the rule of capital) that section of the Social-Democrats which stands for the defense of the country is one of the most serious obstacles. It is even now setting forth the idea of defending the country (robbers' country), telling different lies to the wide working classes. It pursues our friends, the German, Austrian, and English Bolsheviks, who are the only ones who contemptuously reject the idea of defending the bourgeoise countries. It wails over the decomposition of the (robber) army. The situation of the Soviet Republic is quite an exceptional one. It is the only state organization of the proletariat in the whole world, among the robber organizations of the bourgeoise. Therefore it alone has the right to be defended. Moreover, it must be regarded as the fighting weapon of the universal proletariat against the universal bourgeoise. The fighting slogan of this struggle is quite clear now. It is the International Soviet Republic.

The overthrowing of imperialistic governments by armed uprisings and the organization of an International Soviet Republic is the way of the international dictatorship of the working class.

The most forceful way to maintain the international revolution is by the organization of the armed forces of revolution. All workmen of all countries, who are not blinded by traitor Socialists, by their Socialist Revolutionaries and their Mensheviks (and these are found in each country) see in the workmen's revolution in Russia and in the Soviet authority their own cause. Why? Because they see that the Soviet authority is the authority of the workmen themselves. It would be quite different if the bourgeoisie, assisted by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, should overthrow the Soviets, should call the Constituent Assembly and through it should recreate the bourgeois authority, for example, as it existed before the October revolution. Then the working class would lose its country for it would lose its power. Then inevitably the banks would be returned to bankers, the factories to manufacturers, the land to the landowners. The land of "profits" would then revive. And the workmen would have no interest to protect such a country. On the other hand, the workmen of Western Europe would be unable to find in bourgeois Russia a lighthouse, which lights them in their hard struggle. The development of the international revolution would be checked.

On the other hand, the strengthening of the Soviet authority, the organization of armed forces of the workmen and poorest peasants, the organization of resistance to international robbers who are going against Soviet Russia as enemies, because they are members of different classes, such as landowners and capitalists, like a band of "hangmen of the workmen's revolution," and finally the organization of the Red Army would strengthen the revolutionary movement in European countries. The better we are organized, the stronger the armed detachments of workmen and peasants, the more powerful the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, the more quickly will the international revolution come.

This revolution will inevitably come, despite the efforts of German, Austrian, French and English Mensheviks. The working masses in Russia have cut all relations with the compromisers. The workmen of all Europe will do, and in fact are already doing, the same. The slogan of overthrowing robber governments and of the dictatorship of workmen is winning more and more sympathy. Sooner or later we will have the International Republic of Soviets.

This International Soviet Republic will liberate from oppression hundreds of millions of inhabitants of colonies. The "civilized" robber powers tortured the population of colonial countries by a régime of terror. European civilization was maintained by exploitation and by stealing small peoples in distant countries. The latter will be liberated only by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as the Russian Soviet authority has actually proved that it is not willing to continue the colonial policy (for instance Persia) so the European workmen, after overthrowing the rule of the bankers, will give complete freedom to the exploited and oppressed classes. Therefore, the program of our party, which is the program of international revolution, is at the same time the program of complete liberation of the weak and oppressed. The great class—the working class—sets itself great tasks. It also is solving these tasks in a bloody, torturing and heroic fight.

XVIII. Article by Trotsky.

[Petrograd Pravda, Apr. 23, 1919.]

The decisive weeks in the history of mankind have arrived. The wave of enthusiasm over the establishment of a Soviet Republic in Hungary had hardly passed when the proletariat of Bavaria got possession of power and extended the hand of brotherly union to the Russian and Hungarian Republics. The workmen of Germany and Austria are hurrying in hundreds of thousands to Budapest where they enter the ranks of the Red Army. The movement of the German proletariat, temporarily interrupted, again bursts forth with ever-increasing strength. Coal-miners, metal workers, and textile workers, are sending brotherly greetings to the victorious Hungarian Republic and demand of the German Soviets a complete change of front, that is, a break with imperialists—their own, the English, French and American—and the forming of a close union with Russia and Hungary. There is no doubt that this movement will be given a still more powerful swing by the victory of the proletariat in Bavaria, the Soviet government of which has broken all ties with the oppressors of Berlin and Weimar, with Ebert and Scheidemann, the servants of German imperialism, the murderers of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg.

In Warsaw, which the allied imperialists tried to make the center for the attack on Soviet Russia, the Polish proletariat rises in its full stature and through the Warsaw Soviet of Workmen's Deputies sends greetings to the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The French minister of foreign affairs, Pichon, the sworn enemy of the Russian revolution, reports in Parliament on the sad state of affairs: "Odessa is being evacuated" (this was before the occupation of Odessa by Soviet troops); "the Bolsheviks are penetrating the Crimean Peninsula, the situation in the north is not favorable." Things are not going well. The Greek soldiers landed on the shores of Crimea, according to the reports of allied diplomats and newspaper men, were mounted on Crimean donkeys, but the donkeys were not able to arrive in time at the Perekop Isthmus. Things are not going well. Evidently even donkeys have begun to shake off the imperialistic harness.

Foreign consuls do not wish to leave the Ukraine and urge their Governments to recognize the Ukrainian Republic. Wilson sent to Budapest not troops of occupation, to overthrow the Soviet Republic, but the honey-tongued General Smuts to negotiate with the Hungarian Council of People's Commissaries.

Wilson has definitely changed front and evidently has forced France to give up all hope of an armed crusade against Soviet Russia. War with Soviet Russia, which was demanded by the senseless French general, Foch, would take 10 years in the opinion of the American statesmen.

Less than six months have passed since the decisive victory of the Allies over the central empires; six months ago it seemed that the power of the Anglo-French and American imperialism was without limits.

At that time all the Russian counter-revolutionists had no doubt that the days of the Soviet Republic were numbered; but events now move steadfastly along the Soviet road. The working masses of the whole world are joining the flag of the Soviet authority, and the world robbers of imperialism are being betrayed even by the Crimean donkeys. At the present moment one awaits from day to day the victory of the Soviet Republic in Austria and in Germany. It is not impossible that the proletariat of Italy, Poland, or France will violate the logical order and outstrip the working class of other countries. These spring months become the decisive months in the history of Europe. At the same time this spring will decide definitely the fate of the bourgeois and rich peasant, anti-Soviet Russia.

In the east, Kolchak has mobilized all his forces, has thrown in all his reserves, for he knows definitely that if he does not win immediately then he will never win. Spring has come, the spring that decides. Of course the partial victories of Kolchak are insignificant in comparison with the general conquests of Soviet authority in Russia and in the whole world. What does the temporary loss of Ufa mean in the face of the occupation of Odessa, the movement into the Crimea and especially the establishment of the Bavarian Soviet Republic? What does the evacuation of Belebey, caused by military considerations, mean in the face of the powerful growth of the proletarian revolution in Poland and in Italy? Nevertheless, it would be criminal frivolity on our part to disregard the danger represented by the White-Guardist bands of Kolchak on the east. Only stubbornness, steadfastness, watchfulness, and courage in the military struggle have guaranteed till now to the Russian Soviet Republic its international success. The victorious struggle of the Red Army on all fronts has aroused the spirit of the European working class, and has made possible the establishment and strengthening first of the Hungarian and then of the Bavarian Republic. Our work has not yet been completed. The bands of Denikin have not been definitely defeated. The bands of Kolchak continue to move toward the Volga.

Spring has come; the spring that decides; our strength is increased tenfold by the consciousness of the fact that the wireless stations of Moscow, Kiev, Budapest, and Munich not only exchange brotherly greetings but business agreements respecting common defensive struggle. But at home, on our own territory, we must direct the main portion of our increased strength against the most dangerous enemy—against the Kolchak bands. Our comrades of the Volga district are well aware of this. In the province of Samara all Soviet institutions have been put on a war footing, and the best forces have been diverted to support the army, to form reserve regiments to carry on agitation of an educational character in the ranks of the Red Army. Party, Soviet, and trade union organizations in Syzran have unanimously responded to the appeal of the central authority to support the eastern front. A special shock regiment is being organized from the workmen and popular elements, which only recently were groaning under the heel of the White-Guardists. The Volga district is becoming the center of attention of all Soviet Russia. To carry out our international duty we must first of all break up the bands of Kolchak in order to support the victorious workmen of Hungary and Bavaria. In order to assist the uprising of workmen in Poland, Germany, and all Europe, we must establish definitely and irrefutably the Soviet authority over the whole extent of Russia.

To the Urals: This is the slogan of the Red Army and of the whole Soviet country.

The Urals will be the last stage in this bitter struggle. Victory in the Urals not only will give grain to the famished country and cotton to the textile industries, but will secure finally the well-earned rest for our heroic Red Army.

L. TROTSKY.

XIX

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON MAY 1 APPEALS TO THE TOILERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Apr. 25, 1919.]

Proletarians of all countries unite! Long live May 1! Long live communism!

Comrades!

Exactly 30 years ago, in 1889, at the International Socialist Congress, when the Second International was held, the workmen of all countries decided to celebrate May 1 as the day of the mobilization of proletarian forces, the day of strug-

gle, the day of international brotherhood, of the eight-hour working day, of the abolition of standing armies (against war). These were the slogans of the first May 1 holiday 30 years ago.

In 1890 the European bourgeoisie trembled as the 1st of May approached. In Vienna, Paris, and a whole series of other European countries the bourgeoisie organized whole regiments, expecting the immediate uprisings of workmen. Since that time the celebration of May 1 has been a symbol of proletarian solidarity.

But in the official Social-Democracy there developed from that time larger and larger groups that were hostile to the cause of the proletariat. When the imperialistic war started the socialist-traitors, both German and French, proposed to the working class to abandon the celebration of May 1 in 1915, and the May 1 celebration of the proletariat in 1915 was perverted to a May 1 celebration of the bourgeoisie.

Four years have passed since that time, during which the bourgeoisie has pitilessly shattered by fire and sword the flower of the working class and has ruined all countries. Now the war started by the bourgeoisie is coming to a close. Thirty millions killed and crippled, dozens of countries ruined, millions of starving people, millions of new war debts—these are the results of the imperialistic war.

The Second International died. It wrote its own death sentence on August 4, 1914, when the German and French socialist-patriots voted for war credits, that is, to support the imperialistic war.

The workmen of all countries, exhausted by the war and betrayed by their own leaders, are eagerly looking for an international bond to join them together. The robber-imperialists of Paris are trying to create their Black International, the so-called League of Nations. The conscious workmen of the whole world understand clearly that the so-called League of Nations is in fact a league to suppress the proletarian revolution. The socialist-traitors in Berne also tried to create their Yellow International.

It was impossible to bring back to life the corpse of the Second International. The revolutionary workmen of all countries refused to take part in this despicable comedy staged in Berne.

In 1919 was formed the Red International. Our Third International, of Communists, is an international association of the proletarians of all countries who set for themselves the aim of overthrowing the bourgeois governments and establishing the international republic.

Our Third Communist International has undertaken to organize the international celebration of May 1.

Workmen, workwomen, soldiers, sailors, peasants, all toilers! The Communist International calls on you to take part in the great May 1 proletarian holiday.

If the bourgeois slave-owners will remain in power they will force on us a war, a new servitude, new taxes, amounting to billions, hunger and complete slavery. Over all Europe ruins are smoking and millions of proletarian children are dying of hunger. There is no grain anywhere, for during four years, instead of cultivating the fields people killed each other by order of a group of slave-owners. The cities are being depopulated. In some countries almost the entire mature male population has been killed. Europe has been covered with blood.

The communist revolution grows. The Soviet republics in Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria report what has been accomplished daily. Germany is shaking with civil war. A revolution is taking place in Turkey. In Austria and Czecho-Slovakia the workmen are gathering under the glorious flag of socialism. In France enormous demonstrations have started; in Italy the struggle boils and the workmen call for a dictatorship of the proletariat. In England strikes have taken on the character of an epidemic. In America the working class comes out on the streets; in Japan the workmen are agitated; in the neutral countries like Holland and Switzerland hundreds and thousands of workmen recently took part in a political strike. The workmen of all countries have understood that the decisive moment has come. "Soviets"—by this you will conquer.

The workmen know that only a dictatorship of the proletariat can save humanity from that bloody horror into which the bourgeoisie in all countries has plunged it. The workmen know that the proletarian dictatorship will lead to a triumph of socialism. There is no middle course. Either the bloody dictatorship of executioners-generals, who will kill hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasants in the name of the interests of a band of bankers, or the dictatorship of the working class, that is of the overwhelming majority of toilers which will disarm the bourgeoisie, create its own Red Army and free the whole world of slavery. Down with the autocracy of tsars and kings.

This last cry was raised in Russia in 1917 and its echo was heard over the whole of Europe. Crowns fell from the heads of Nicholas Romanov, William Hohenzollern, Karl of Austria and other executioners of larger and smaller calibre.

Down with the autocracy of capital! This cry is now raised when they rise a second time—when they get ready for the last fight.

The eight-hour labor day—that was the slogan of May 1 holiday in the past. Soviet republics have already carried out this demand.

Against bourgeois militarism this old May 1 demand remains in force even to-day. In the name of this demand we shall create our own Red Army, a class army, the People's Army, the army of labor, the army of the poor, the army of socialism.

The Red Army already exists in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, and Austria. The Red Army soon will exist over all the world. The Red Army will triumph.

Long live civil war, the only just war, in which the oppressed class fights its oppressors.

Down with the French imperialists.

Down with the bourgeoisie of the Entente.

Down with the robbers who wish to send their troops to Russia in order to reestablish the authority of landlords, enthrone the monarch, and restore the bourgeoisie.

May 1, 1919, should become the day of attack, the day of the proletarian revolution in all Europe.

Let the workmen of all countries refuse to give up the rifles which the bourgeoisie forced them to take in 1914. The arming of workmen and the disarming of the bourgeoisie—these are the slogans of the moment.

The conflicts which have taken place to date in various countries were simply the preliminary skirmishes between labor and capital. The decisive struggle is approaching.

Amidst storms, blood and tears, hunger and endless suffering a new world is being born, a bright world of communism, of the common brotherhood of the toilers.

In 1919 was born the great Communist International.

In 1920 will be born the great International Soviet Republic.

Long live May 1!

(Signed) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.
G. ZINOVIEV, *President*.

XX.

SUPPLEMENTARY RUSSIAN-GERMAN TREATY, AUGUST 27, 1918.

[Izvestia, Sept. 3, 1918.]

Supplementary Treaty to the Treaty of Peace between Russia for the one part, and Germany, Austria-Hungary Turkey, and Bulgaria for the other.

Guided by the wish to solve certain political questions which have arisen in connection with the peace treaty of March 3-7, 1918, between Russia for the one part, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey for the other part, in the spirit of friendly understanding and mutual conciliation, and, in so doing, to promote the restoration of good and confidential relations between the two States, for which a way was paved by the conclusion of peace, the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the German Imperial Government have agreed to conclude a supplementary treaty to the Peace Treaty with this object, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

For the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic: Its diplomatic representative accredited to the German Imperial Government, M. Adolf Joffé;

For the Imperial German Government: The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Imperial Privy Councillor, Rear Admiral Paul von Hintze, retired; and the Director in the Foreign Office, the Imperial Privy Councillor, Dr. Johann Kriege.

After exchanging their credentials, and finding them in correct and proper form, the plenipotentiaries agreed to the following provisions:

CHAPTER I.—DEMARCATIONS AND FRONTIER COMMISSIONS.

ARTICLE 1.

In so far as this has not yet been done, Russian-German Commissions will immediately be formed to fix demarcation lines for all fronts where German and Russian troops face one another. Exact details as to this shall be agreed on by the commanders of the troops on each side.

These demarcation lines shall be so drawn that there are neutral zones between the respective fronts, which zones must not be trodden by any members of the respective armies, with the exception of parlementaries. In so far as there is not regular traffic between the respective fronts, such traffic will be established by the demarcation commissions.

ARTICLE 2.

The Russian-German Commission for fixing the frontier line, provided for in article 3, paragraph 1, of the Peace Treaty, shall also fix the eastern frontiers of Esthonia and Livonia, agreed on in article 6, paragraph 2, of that treaty, more exactly.

After the fixing of the eastern frontier of Esthonia and Livonia, provided for in paragraph 1, Germany will evacuate the territory occupied by her east of this frontier without delay.

ARTICLE 3.

Germany will evacuate the territory occupied by her east of the Beresina, even before the conclusion of general peace, in proportion as Russia makes the cash payments stipulated in article 2 of the Russian-German Financial Agreement of this date; further provisions as to this, particularly the fixing of the individual sectors to be evacuated, are left to the commission referred to in article 2, paragraph 1, of this Supplementary Treaty.

The contracting parties reserve the right to make further agreements with regard to the effecting of the evacuation of the occupied territory west of the Beresina before the conclusion of general peace, in accordance with the fulfilment by Russia of the remaining financial obligations undertaken by her.

Chapter II.—Separatist Movement in the Russian State.

ARTICLE 4.

In so far as is not otherwise prescribed in the Peace Treaty or in this Supplementary Treaty, Germany will in no wise interfere in the relations between the Russian State and parts of its territory, and will thus in particular neither cause nor support the formation of independent States in those territories.

Chapter III.—North-Russian Territory.

ARTICLE 5.

Russia will at once employ all the means at her disposal to expel the Entente forces from North-Russian territory in observance of her neutrality.

Germany guarantees that during these operations there shall be no Finnish attacks of any kind on Russian territory, particularly on Petrograd.

ARTICLE 6.

When the Entente forces shall have evacuated North-Russian territory, the local Russian coast shipping within the 3-mile limit from the north coast, and the fishing sailing boats within a stretch of 30 miles along this coast, shall be relieved of the barred-zone menace. The German naval command shall have an opportunity, in a way to be further agreed upon, of convincing itself that this concession shall not be taken advantage of to forward contraband goods.

Chapter IV.—Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania.

ARTICLE 7.

Russia, taking account of the conditions at present existing in Esthonia and Livonia, renounces sovereignty over these regions, as well as all interference in their internal affairs. Their future fate shall be decided in agreement with their inhabitants.

No obligations of any kind toward Russia shall accrue to Esthonia and Livonia through their former union with Russia.

ARTICLE 8.

To facilitate Russian trade through Esthonia, Livonia, Courland and Lithuania the following is agreed:

No. 1.

In Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania the through transport of goods to and from Russia on routes liable to the payment of duty shall be absolutely free, and the goods to be transported shall not be subject to any transit duties or general transport dues.

No. 2.

On the railways connecting Russia with Reval, Riga, and Windau, the freight tariffs on the goods to be forwarded in through trade with Russia are to be kept as low as possible. They may only be raised above the rates in force on August 1, 1914, by taking the average of the amount by which a general rise in the freight tariffs of the lines in question may be necessary to cover the cost of working and upkeep, including the payment of interest, and timely redemption of the capital invested. Neither must they be higher than the freight tariffs for goods of the same kind of inland origin or destination, which are forwarded over the same lines and in the same direction.

No. 3.

Shipping on the West Dvina between Russia and the open sea, as well as between all places on the Livonian-Courland Dvina, and on the Russian Dvina is, subject to prevailing police regulations, to be free for the transport of goods and passengers, without any discrimination in regard to the ships and the subjects of the one or the other party. It is not to be subject to any tax based solely on the fact of the navigation. It is not to be subject to any stations, slips, depot, turnover, or harborage dues.

Exclusive shipping privileges must not be granted either to companies or corporations or to private persons of any kind.

Taxes for the use of works and institutions which are created, or may be created in future, to facilitate traffic, or to improve and maintain the navigation of the river, may only be raised uniformly in accordance with published tariffs and to the extent necessary to cover the cost of restoration and upkeep, inclusive of payment of interest and redemption of the capital invested. The cost of restoring and keeping up works and institutions which are not for the facilitation of traffic and the improvement and maintenance of the navigation of the river, but are intended to further other objects and interests, may be raised only to a proportionate extent by shipping dues.

The provisions of Nos. 1 to 3 preceding apply also to timber rafts.

No. 4.

At Reval, Riga, and Windau, Russia shall have suitably situated free port zones assigned to her, in which the storing and unpacking of goods coming from or intended for Russia, can take place without hindrance, and the work of dispatching goods from or to the Russian Customs zone can be done by Russian officials.

No. 5.

The individual questions connected with the provision of Nos. 1 to 4, particularly the restrictions to which these provisions may be subjected in war time out of consideration for war necessity, or for urgent sanitary reasons, shall be regulated by a special agreement.

ARTICLE 9.

The water of Lake Peipus is not to be artificially diverted on either side to such a degree as to lower the water level. No methods of fishing calculated to diminish the stock of fish will be permitted; a further agreement as to this is reserved.

The water power of the Narova is to be made available when possible for the supply of electricity for the Province of Petrograd according to a special agreement to be made regarding this.

ARTICLE 10.

With regard to Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania, agreements, among other agreements, are to be concluded with Russia, as to the following points:

1. With regard to the nationality of the former Russian inhabitants of these territories, as to which they must in any case be allowed the right of option and departure;

2. With regard to the return of the property in Russia belonging to citizens of these territories, particularly that belonging to publicly recognized societies, establishments, and charitable institutions, as well as the property in these territories which belongs to Russian citizens;

3. With regard to an arrangement concerning the property of the communal associations cut up by the new frontiers

4. With regard to an arrangement concerning the archives, the documents of the legal and administrative authorities, the legal and administrative trusts, and the register of births, marriages, deaths, etc.;

5. With regard to the regulation of the new frontiers;

6. With regard to the effect of the territorial alterations on the State treaties.

CHAPTER V.—RUSSIAN BLACK SEA TERRITORY WITH EXCEPTION OF THE CAUCASUS.

ARTICLE 11.

With reservation of the provisions of article 12, Germany will evacuate the Russian Black Sea territory, outside the Caucasus, occupied by her after the ratification of the treaty of peace to be concluded between Russia and the Ukraine.

ARTICLE 12.

The parts of the occupied territory which do not belong to the districts referred to in the third Ukrainian Universal of November 7, 1917, shall be evacuated by the German forces at latest on the conclusion of the general peace, in so far as the peace between Russia and the Ukraine shall not have come into being before then.

The evacuation of the railway line Rostov-Voronezh, as well as of the occupied territory east of it, and a suitable frontier district west of it, including the town of Rostov, will follow as soon as this is demanded on the Russian side. Until the evacuation, Germany will permit the forwarding of grain and other goods for the Russian Government, under the supervision of Russian officials, on those portions of the railway situated in the occupied territory; the same applies for the portions of the railway lines Taganrog-Rostov and Taganrog-Kursk, lying in the occupied territory, for the duration of the occupation.

So long as the Donetz Basin is occupied by German troops in accordance with article 11 and article 12, paragraph 1, Russia shall receive monthly from the quantities of coal extracted there a three-times greater number of tons than it lets Germany have of crude oil or crude oil products from the Baku district in accordance with article 14, paragraph 2, and a four-times greater number of tons for the consignments of benzine contained therein. In so far as the coal supply in the Donetz Basin is not sufficient for this, or must be used for other purposes, it will be supplemented by German coal.

CHAPTER VI.—THE CAUCASUS.

ARTICLE 13.

Russia agrees to Germany's recognizing Georgia as an independent State.

ARTICLE 14.

Germany will give no assistance to any third power in any military operations in the Caucasus outside Georgia or the districts mentioned in article IV, paragraph 3, of the Peace Treaty. She will also take measures to prevent the military forces of any third power in the Caucasus overstepping the following lines: The Kuban, from its mouth to Petropavlovsk; from there onward the boundaries of the district Shemakha to Agrioba; thence a straight line to the point where the boundaries of the districts of Baku, Shemakha, and Kuban meet; thence along the northern boundary of the district of Baku to the sea.

Russia will do her utmost to further the production of crude oil and crude oil products in the Baku district, and will supply to Germany a quarter of the amount produced, or at least a number of tons, to be agreed upon later, per month. In so far as the quantities produced in the Baku district are not sufficient to supply this number of tons, or must be used for other purposes, they will be supplemented by quantities produced elsewhere. The price will be reckoned by the value of the coal Russia is to be allowed to have in accordance with article 12, paragraph 3, and the remainder will be reckoned by the value of the commodities which Germany is to be allowed to have from Russia in accordance with Article 3, No. 2 of the Russian-German Financial Agreement of this date.

Chapter VII.—Treatment of Russian Warships and Russian Stores Confiscated by German Military Forces After the Conclusion of Peace.

ARTICLE 15.

Germany recognizes Russia's ownership of the Russian warships confiscated by German forces after the ratification of the Peace Treaty, subject to Russia coming to terms with the Ukraine and Finland as to the national property of the former Russian Empire.

The warships confiscated will remain under German supervision until the conclusion of the general peace.

ARTICLE 16.

Germany admits Russia's claim to be compensated for the Russian stores which have been confiscated outside the Ukraine and Finland by German forces after the conclusion of peace. This compensation will be reckoned in when Germany's and Russia's financial obligations arising from the Supplementary Treaty to the Peace Treaty are settled.

Chapter VIII.—Concluding Provisions.

ARTICLE 17.

This Supplementary Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification documents shall be exchanged not later than September 6, 1918, in Berlin.

The Treaty comes into force on the day the ratification documents are exchanged.

In witness whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Supplementary Treaty.

Executed in duplicate in Berlin on this 27th day of August, 1918.

A. Joffé,
von Hintze,
Kriege.

XXI.

Russian-German Financial Agreement, August 27, 1918.

[Izvestia, September 4, 1918.]

The Financial Agreement supplementing the Russian-German Supplementary Treaty to the Treaty of Peace between Russia for the one part, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey for the other.

On the basis of paragraph 2, article 35, of the Russian-German Supplementary Treaty to the Peace Treaty concluded between Russia for the one part and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey for the other, the plenipotentiary of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, namely, the diplomatic representative of the Soviet Republic accredited to the Imperial German Government, M. Adolf Joffé, and the plenipotentiaries of the German Empire, namely, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Imperial Privy Councillor, Rear-Admiral M. Paul von Hintze retired and the Director of the Department for Foreign Affairs, Imperial Privy Councillor, Dr. Johann Kriege, have agreed to regulate the financial obligations between Russia and Germany arising from the Russian-German Supplementary Treaty, the reciprocal return of bank deposits and bank balances due, as well as the adjustment of certain differences in the economic systems of the two countries, and for these purposes to conclude a supplementary agreement to the Russian-German Supplementary Treaty, taking into consideration the Russian regulations in regard to the annulment of Russian State Loans and State Guarantees, and the nationalization of certain property values in Russia.

The plenipotentiaries, after exchanging their credentials, which were found to be in correct and proper form, came to an agreement in regard to the following provisions:

Chapter I.—The Financial Obligations of Russia and Germany Arising from the Russian-German Supplementary Treaty to the Peace Treaty.

ARTICLE 1.

The following provisions of the Russian-German Supplementary Treaty to the Peace Treaty concluded between Russia for the one part and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey for the other, are annulled: Article 2, article 8, in so far as it relates to payments by Russia on State obligations, including the State guaranteed loans; No. 1;

paragraph 2, article 9, in so far as it does not relate to exemption from payment of taxes; clause 2, No. 3, article 9; subclause 1, clause 2, paragraph 2, article 12; articles 13 to 15; paragraph 1, article 16; paragraph 2, article 16, in so far as it relates to Russian expropriations effected before July 1, 1918; and No. 3, article 17, and No. 4, paragraph 2, article 17.

ARTICLE 2.

Russia shall pay Germany six billion marks as compensation for losses sustained by Germans through Russian measures; at the same time corresponding claims on Russia's part are taken into account, and the value of supplies confiscated in Russia by German military forces after the conclusion of peace is taken into account.

ARTICLE 3.

The payment of six billion marks mentioned in article 2, shall be effected in the following manner:

No. 1.

The sum of one and a half billion shall be paid by the transfer of 245,564 kilograms of gold and 545,440,000 Rs., in bank notes consisting of 363,628,000 Rs. in bank notes of 50, 100, or 500 Rs., and 181,812,000 Rs. in bank notes of 250 or 1,000 Rs.

The transfer shall be effected by five installments namely, (1) a payment of 42,860 kilograms of fine gold and 90,900,000 Rs. in bank notes, consisting of 60,600,000 Rs. in bank notes of 50, 100, or 500 Rs., 30,300,000 Rs. in bank notes of 250 or 1,000 Rs.; this payment shall be made on September 10, 1918; (2) four payments which shall be made on September 20, October 31, November 30, and December 31, 1918, each amounting to 50,676 kilograms of fine gold and 113,635,000 Rs. in bank notes consisting of 75,757,000 Rs. in bank notes of 50, 100, or 500 Rs. and 37,878,000 Rs. in bank notes of 250 or 1,000 Rs.

Each payment shall be delivered to the representatives of the German Government at Pskov or at Orsha; on receipt of the money the representatives shall issue a temporary receipt which shall be replaced by a final discharge after the gold and bank notes have been checked and counted.

No. 2.

The sum of one billion marks shall be canceled by the delivery of Russian commodities on the basis of a special agreement, which shall be concluded in this connection. Before November 15 and December 31, commodities are to be delivered to the value of 50 million marks each time; before March 31, June 30, and December 31, 1919, commodities are to be delivered each time to the value of 150 million marks; before March 31, 1920, commodities to the value of 300 million marks; in so far as the deliveries cannot be effected within these periods the amount lacking in each individual case shall be immediately made up either by payment in German Imperial bank notes at their face value or in fine gold and bank notes in rubles in the proportion of 3 to 2 and at a rate which must be separately fixed in each case.

No. 3.

The sum of two and a half billion marks shall be paid by December 31, 1918, through the transfer of securities of a loan at 6 per cent from January 1, 1919, with a sinking-fund of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and this loan is issued by the Russian Government in Germany at the nominal amount of the above mentioned sum, and the terms of the loan shall be considered an essential part of this agreement.

Certain State revenues, and in particular the rental dues for certain economic concessions which will be granted to Germans, shall serve as guarantees of the loan mentioned in paragraph 1; guarantees shall be settled severally by the establishment of a special agreement in such a form that the estimated yearly income from them shall exceed the yearly sum required for interest and sinking-fund by at least 20 per cent.

No. 4.

With regard to the balance of one billion marks, in so far as its payment, with the consent of Germany, will not be taken over by the Ukraine or Finland in their agreement with Russia regarding the distribution of property, the parties reserve the right to enter on a special agreement.

ARTICLE 4.

Property of Germans situated in Russia, which was expropriated before July 1, 1918, to the use of the State or local self-government bodies, or the owner of which was in any other way deprived of the right to dispose of it, shall be returned on demand to the owner, subject to the return of the compensation received by him from the sum named in Article 2, with due regard to possible improvements or damage if the property has not remained in the possession of the State or local self-government bodies, or if expropriation or any other form of confiscation of similar property has not been effected, or is annulled, in regard to the local inhabitants or citizens of a third Power; demands for the return of property must be made within a year from the period when it can be claimed.

ARTICLE 5.

The provisions of article 8 of the Supplementary Treaty to the Peace Treaty remain in full force, in so far as they do not relate to payment on the Russian State debt, as do the provisions of paragraph 2, article 16, in so far as they relate to Russian expropriations after July 1, 1918, and the provisions of clause 2, paragraph 1, article 19, and of clause 1, article 22, and those of articles 28 to 32.

With regard to payment and guarantee of the financial obligations arising from these provisions, the parties reserve the right to conclude a further agreement, in so far as this has not already been regulated in Chapter III of the present agreement.

ARTICLE 6.

The contracting parties will supply each other with all possible information for the establishment of the civil damages sustained by the citizens of one party on territory over which the authority of the other party extends, and will likewise satisfy demands for the production of proofs relating to such damages.

CHAPTER II.—SURRENDER OF BANK DEPOSITS AND BANK CREDITS.

ARTICLE 7.

Each contracting party shall take care that the property values (bank deposits) of citizens of the other party, which are lodged on its territory with banking or financial institutions, including the moneys and certificates deposited for them with a central institution for the safe-keeping of valuables, or with an officially recognized trustee of valuables or in some other deposit institution which is recognized by the Government, be made over on demand of the authorized persons, with the right to despatch them to their native countries exempt from State taxes and duties.

Each party shall regard the bank deposits of citizens of the other party within its territory, as the deposits of the citizens of the other party as interpreted by paragraph 1, if these deposits have been made in the name of such citizens. In other cases a special proof is required showing that the deposits are those of citizens of the other party; possible disputes in this connection shall be decided by a commission consisting of a representative from each of the two Governments and a neutral chairman.

Commissions provided for in paragraph 2 shall be set up at Moscow, Petrograd, and Berlin immediately after the coming into force of this agreement; the chairman shall be appointed, with the consent of the Royal Swedish Government by the Swedish consuls in these places.

ARTICLE 8.

Each contracting party shall take care that the banking and financial institutions within its territory, immediately after the coming into force of this agreement, without any reference to the extension of time provided for in clause 1, paragraph 1, No. 3, of article 7 of the Supplementary Treaty to the Peace Treaty, shall pay out the sums demanded by the rightful possessors, for which payment is due and which belong to the citizens of the other party. The rightful owner may also despatch the sums obtained by him to the territory of his native State, exempt from State taxes and duties.

In regard to bank credits, mentioned in paragraph 1 of this article, the provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3 of article 7 apply.

ARTICLE 9.

In order to hasten the delivery of bank deposits and credits as provided by articles 7 and 8, each contracting party shall immediately appoint a State commissary to whom their respective citizens hand in their claims before January 31, 1919. The two commissaries shall communicate these claims to one another not later than September 25, 1918, for the first time, than November 15, 1918, for the second time, and not later than February 15, 1919, for the third time, and see that the bank deposits and credits to be delivered on this basis shall be transferred on October 25, 1918, December 31, 1918, and March 31, 1919, and immediately after the decision of the commission, in so far as these claims have been verified under paragraph 2, article 7, and paragraph 2, article 8, by the Mixed Commission. The transfer shall take place in Moscow on the side of Russia and in Berlin on the side of Germany.

Each contracting party takes care that the delivery, in so far as the rights of banks or of third persons to these deposits or credits are not in conflict, shall take place against an authenticated release of the person in whose name the deposit or credit stood, or who is recognized as authorized by the Commission referred to in paragraph 2, article 7. Should another person claim the deposit or credit on the ground of inheritance or legal succession to the entire property of a juridical person, the release can be presented by this other person, if he belongs to the same contracting party as the original claimant and if his right is attested by a statement of the State commissary of this party.

In all other cases the right must be specially proved to the banking or financial institution where the deposit or credit rests.

Persons wishing to present their claims without the mediation of the State commissary, may apply direct to the banking or financial institutions, in the case of German citizens, only after October 25, 1918, and in the case of Russian citizens only after December 31, 1918.

ARTICLE 10.

The provisions of articles 7 and 8 find corresponding application to the bank deposits and credits in Russia of citizens of Courland, Livonia, Esthonia, and Lithuania, in particular to the moneys, certificates and other valuables abstracted in these provinces during the war, as also to the bank deposits and credits in these provinces of Russian citizens, including deposits in the State Bank as successor in title to all nationalized Russian private banks.

CHAPTER III.—The Adjustment of Certain Differences in the Economic Systems of Both Countries.

ARTICLE 11.

Property of Germans in Russia shall in future be expropriated or its owner otherwise deprived of the right to dispose of it, only if the expropriation or other form of withdrawal is made in favor of the State or of local self-government bodies under legislation which applies to all the inhabitants of the country and to the citizens of a third country, and to all property of a similar nature, and further if the owner immediately receives compensation in cash.

The amount of the compensation to be paid, in accordance with paragraph 1, shall be determined by two experts, of whom one shall be appointed by the Russian Government, and the other by the rightful claimant; should these persons not come to an agreement, they shall invite a third expert as chairman, who shall be appointed by the Swedish Consul, if no other arrangement has been made.

ARTICLE 12.

Property which has been expropriated in accordance with Article 11, or whose owner has been deprived of the right to dispose of it, shall be returned to the owner on his demand, against the return of the money paid him in compensation, and with regard being had to possible improvement or damage, in all cases where the property does not remain in the public possession of the State or of local self-government bodies, or if the expropriation or other form of withdrawal of similar property is annulled as regards the inhabitants of the country, or the citizens of a third country; the demand for return of the property must be made within a year of the time it can be claimed.

ARTICLE 13.

The provisions of paragraph 2, article 11, and of article 12, find corresponding application in so far as property of Germans in Russia has been expropriated or its owner deprived of the right to dispose of it, after July 1, 1918, and before the coming into force of this agreement.

Demands for return in cases mentioned in paragraph 1, can be made when an expropriation or any other form of withdrawal of similar property has not been carried out in regard to inhabitants of the country, or citizens of a third country; such demands must be made within one year after the coming into force of this agreement.

ARTICLE 14.

German creditors may demand satisfaction in respect to their claims arising before July 1, 1918, and immediately after these have fallen due, from the balances of their debtors in Russian banks, if their claims are recognized as valid by both the debtor and the bank. In case there is no acknowledgment on the part of the debtor, a court decision having the force of law may be substituted; if the validity of the claim is disputed by the bank, the matter is decided by the commissions in Petrograd and Moscow, referred to in paragraph 3, article 7.

ARTICLE 15.

The Russian-German Convention of October 31 (November 12), 1874, regarding inheritances shall remain in force on condition that, in regard to all cases of inheritance which will arise after the new regulations of rights of inheritance in Russia, the provisions for movable property shall apply also to immovable property, and that the inheritance shall be taxed only by the native State of the deceased, and further that the Convention shall not be disclaimed during the whole period when the right of inheritance in Russia is abolished or essentially limited.

Further, the contracting parties reserve the right to supercede certain provisions of the Convention regarding inheritance, which have proved to be inapplicable in practice, by new provisions more suited to present conditions.

CHAPTER IV.—Concluding Provisions.

ARTICLE 16.

This Agreement shall be ratified and exchange of ratification documents shall take place in Berlin by September 6, 1918.

This Agreement comes into force on the day of the exchange of ratification documents.

In witness whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Agreement.

Executed in duplicate in Berlin, August 27, 1918.

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